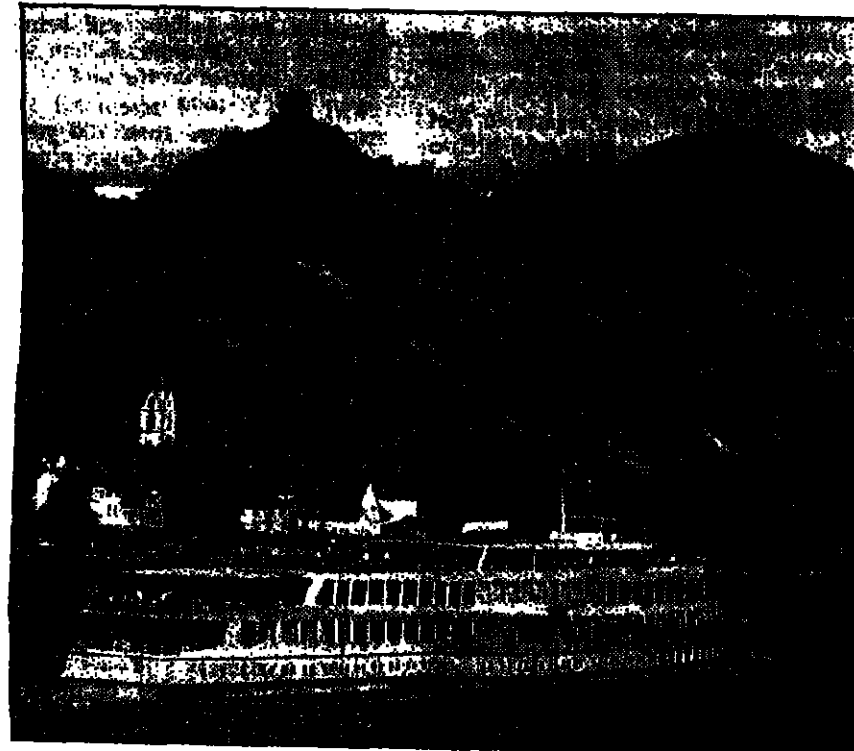
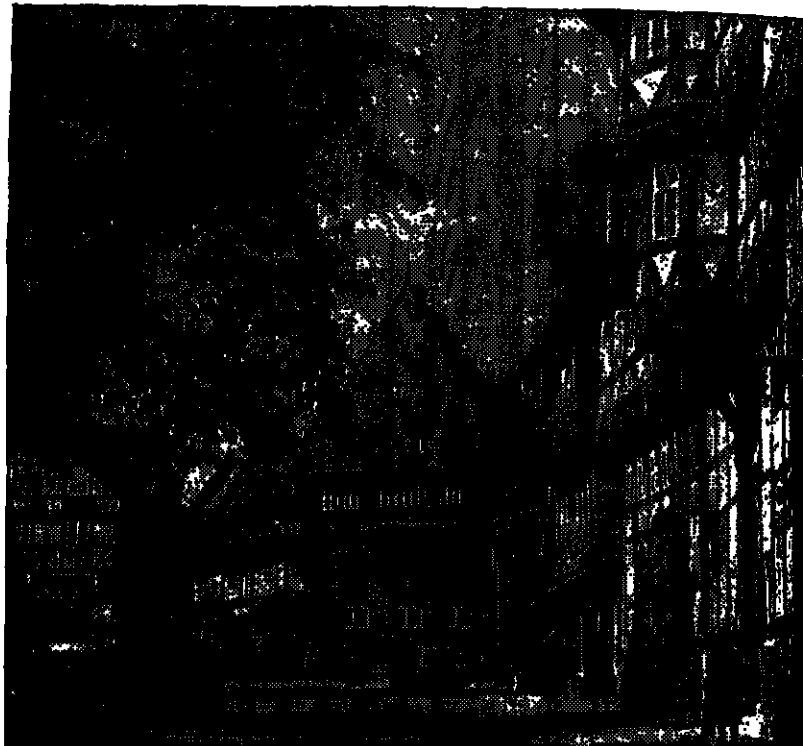
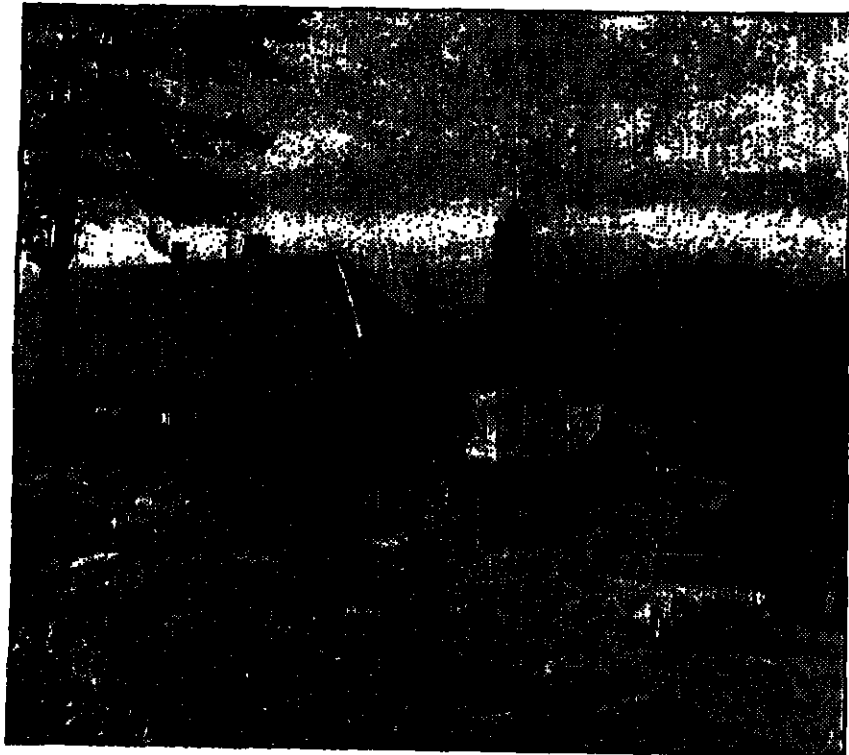


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What springs to mind when the names West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany are mentioned? Streamlined cars and perfect traffic systems, production lines in factories. Great names in the world of art, literature and music? Of course, but one also thinks of the joy in living, of celebrated places and castles, of pulsating city life and the romantic half-timbered houses in sleepy towns, of strolling through secluded forests alone, of invigorating river trips, of adventure and relaxation from the seashores to the mountains. Whoever you are - whether you travel light or heavy, whether you

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# The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

Hamburg, 26 July 1973  
Twelfth Year - No. 589 - By air

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## American leaders reassure Walter Scheel

Walter Scheel's snap visit to the United States, at one stage officially designated as a lightning trip, would seem at first glance to be an emergency move to salvage relations between the United States and Western Europe.

This impression, to which the information tactics of the Bonn Foreign Office contributed in no small measure, is inaccurate. Which is not, of course, to say that the Foreign Minister's talks in Washington can be designated a routine exercise.

Walter Scheel's visit to the United States forms part and parcel of the diplomatic comings and goings that have kept politicians all over the world on their toes in recent months. President Nixon's projected European tour this November will form a further climax of the trend.

The comings and goings of high-ranking politicians reflect changes in world affairs that seem inexorably to be affecting this country, Europe, East and South-East Asia as well as the Big Two.

The trend towards man-to-man talks also indicates that relaxation of tension is by no means an automatic process. Launched in East and West by dint of considerable effort, it calls for continual adjustments and conceivably temporary speed limits.

It is in this context that the realignment of relations between the United States and Western Europe assumes its importance and, of course, the element of potential dynamite.

The invitation extended to Herr Scheel

affects the security of America's allies in Western Europe.

Washington is taking pains to ensure that this impression is fostered. On 16 July Bonn Defence Minister Georg Leber also set off for the US capital at the invitation of Defence Secretary Schlesinger.

Beforehand President Nixon tried to reassure Nato Secretary-General Joseph Luns, Western European ambassadors to Nato and French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert (though with scant success in France's case).

America's explanations were well received by Walter Scheel. What they amount to is that the nuclear agreement between President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev applies to a state of peace only and would lapse the moment an attack was launched on Western Europe.

It does not represent an element in crisis-containment and is more intended to prevent crises arising. The United States did not seem inclined to reduce the number of tactical nuclear devices in Europe either, but Walter Scheel's positive response would not seem to be echoed by all Cabinet Ministers in Bonn.

Western European security remains the cornerstone of detente policy. Were there no security detente would become a game of chance.

There is no reason for not believing President Nixon, Rogers and Kissinger when they assure the Foreign Minister that US troops will remain stationed in Western Europe, but any Western European politician who dismissed the very possibility would be irresponsible.

Ever since Dr Kissinger's advocacy of a new Atlantic Charter and the encounter between President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev it has been apparent that the United States is in the process of reappraising its commitments and its role within the Atlantic alliance.

Western Europe cannot afford to do no more than think about the form and content of the North Atlantic pact. Action must be taken.

American policy towards Western Europe represents an invitation to play ball, Western Europe, when all is said and



Foreign Minister Walter Scheel with President Nixon and Dr Henry Kissinger at the White House on 12 July (Photo: dpa)

done, rightly insisted on equality with the United States from now on, though economic and monetary affairs were doubtless what Europeans had in mind, since they stand to derive most benefit from equal treatment in these sectors.

Now that the Americans are directly or indirectly indicating that it is time Europe paid its share of defence expenditure everyone on this side of the Atlantic has suddenly piped down. In public at least they are avoiding the topic of European defence with a vengeance.

Christian Democrat Walther Leisler Kiep, a thoughtful pro-American, was outspoken by way of contrast during the Foreign Minister's visit to Washington. In view of the changing political situation he called for a reformulation of Nato strategy.

"It must include a secondary nuclear deterrent in Europe in the form of a European potential," he stated. This country, he felt, ought to be involved in target planning at least. This is an idea that has been on many people's minds of late, though no one is prepared to admit the fact.

The Bonn government, particularly Foreign Minister Scheel, who dismisses the idea of a European deterrent as a plaything, is doing everything in its power to postpone discussion of a European nuclear pool, plans for which have been rejected by Britain recently, until such

time as political union is a European reality.

Bonn is caught on the horns of a dilemma. Either it takes on nuclear weapons and runs the risk of being degraded to the status of an errand-boy for the British and the French or it does not.

Even if it were to do so within the framework of a European political union the situation would be a tricky one. Does the non-proliferation then still apply to Bonn? Is it still bound to its renunciation of nuclear weapons? Fortunately a decision will not need to be taken for some time. For the time being there are other possibilities of preventing the emergence of a security vacuum in Western Europe even assuming that US troop strength is cut back. Nato's Eurogroup could, for instance, be reinforced.

A declaration of principles by the Atlantic alliance on relations between Western Europe and the United States will, however, prove inevitable.

Not only the French but also a fair number of Ministers in the present Bonn government would sooner avoid the issue of what Walter Scheel has termed a New Testament of the North Atlantic pact. Whatever shape it takes, it could certainly spring a number of surprises.

Hans Kipper (Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 July 1973)

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by President Nixon, Secretary of State Rogers and US national security advisor Kissinger was initially intended as a means of reassurance.

The US leaders explained to Foreign Minister Scheel and his political planning and disarmament advisers Guido Brunner and Helmut Rott that the nuclear agreement between President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev in no way

The list of topics discussed by Walter Scheel in Washington with President Nixon and national security advisor Kissinger demonstrates the rate at which transatlantic tension, rivalry and misunderstanding has snowballed.

During the eight years in which the United States has been up to its eyes in Vietnam and Asia transatlantic relations have changed to such an extent that rifts have occurred left, right and centre and can no longer merely be papered over.

Whether it be German-American ties or relations between Western Europe and America or matters of military presence, trade, international cooperation or

exchange rates, the bill is invariably in dollars and cents.

This is why it will take a monetary agreement satisfactory to all sides in the West before transatlantic relations can really return to normal.

Walter Scheel's Washington talks were thus accompanied by monetary negotiations, though little progress was made. In a nutshell what the Europeans want is for the Americans to recall at least part of the world's gold dollars.

The Americans, in their turn, note the services they have done their allies and would like the allies to do more in burden-sharing.

## Rifts in the Alliance

In the US House of Representatives, which favours a drastic reduction in the number of US troops stationed in Europe, the cost of keeping 300,000 GIs between the Mediterranean and Iceland is reckoned to be in excess of 18,000 million dollars per annum.

President Nixon intends to veto any cutback by more than five per cent, or approximately 15,000 men. A similar Secretary of State Rush, estimates that stationing the troops in the United States rather than in Europe would involve a saving of 400 million dollars at the most.

Whether the 300,000 men are needed is another matter. It is a matter that has been discussed in the past.

(Kleiner Nachrichten, 14 July 1973)



## ■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

## France's force de frappe no substitute for US nuclear shield

## DIE ZEIT

It is probably no more than a rumour that France's President Pompidou murmured "merci, M. Mao" on hearing the news of the Chinese nuclear test. China could certainly not have done him a better service at the present juncture than to explode their hydrogen device over Sinkiang.

Both France may demonstratively have ignored the judgment of the International Court of Justice in The Hague and ostentatiously have disregarded the misgivings of other governments, but international protest against their projected nuclear tests on Mururoa atoll had not been without effect.

The Chinese test now provides a welcome opportunity of retrenching behind assertions that the nuclear mini-powers have much in common in their atomic altruism.

Both Paris and Peking refused to sign the non-proliferation treaty on the ground that they had no intention of leaving themselves at the tender mercies of the superpowers' nuclear monopoly. Both feel their views have been borne out by the US-Soviet nuclear agreement.

The United States and the Soviet Union, they feel, are determined to conduct international affairs regardless of small and medium-sized nations.

China claims to aim at the abolition of nuclear weapons by means of ending their nuclear monopoly. France still harbours illusions of national independence and

feels it can be maintained by means of the force de frappe.

Both reckon that their respective aims entitle them to conduct nuclear tests jeopardising the lives of many other people otherwise unaffected.

The French nuclear devices are allegedly "clean" yet they are not being exploded over French territory, and China little cares that the level of radioactivity has increased 3,000-fold since its test over Japan rather than over Peking.

Both countries are behaving in an unscrupulous manner in gaining access to the exclusive nuclear club at the expense of others.

There can, of course, be no gainsaying that China is a great power in the offing and that it cannot rely on the backing of a nuclear ally. But what about France?

General de Gaulle's argument that the mere possession of nuclear weapons is a sufficient deterrent (the argument on which the transformation of the force de frappe into a force of persuasion is based) has long ceased to hold good.

Nowadays technological progress and quantity are the sole criteria, and France alone is unlikely ever to be able to lay claim to either.

France's nuclear potential has been developed at enormous cost. It has already consumed some 80,000 million Marks at the expense of social progress and, for that matter, of conventional armament.

Yet the French are still trailing hopelessly behind the United States and the Soviet Union. By 1980 they will at best have reached the stage Britain has

already achieved with American assistance.

Even if they succeed, in the wake of their projected tests, they will by 1975 pack thirty megatons of nuclear punch, as opposed to the United States' 30,000 and the Soviet Union's 25,000 megatons.

What is more, the range of their missiles and strategic bombers is too small to represent a serious threat to a possible enemy. France's force de frappe cannot claim to be a very convincing deterrent and assurances that the tests are indispensable for the security and independence of France or even Europe have a hollow ring. Uncertainty regarding American intentions in Europe has, it is true, increased following the talks between President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev. Washington continues to press for alternatives to US nuclear guarantees for Europe, too.

A European nuclear potential based on French capacity, British technological progress, US know-how and financial backing from other European countries would seem a tempting proposition.

Why, one may ask, have Bonn and Whitehall refrained from joining in the chorus of opposition to the nuclear tests? Could it be that they would like to keep the door open?

A European nuclear force could only function as part of an integrated European defence — unless, that is, two categories of Europeans are established: those with their finger on the trigger and those who are left as sitting ducks.

Defence integration in its turn will only be feasible once the political and economic union of Europe has been largely accomplished (if then!).

For the moment, even in an age of détente and no worries, there is no alternative to the US nuclear shield, certainly not France's force de frappe, which is not even capable of convincingly defending French territory.

Gabriele Venzky  
(Die Zeit, 6 July 1973)

## Peking's People's Daily reports on Bonn

An article recently published in the Peking People's Daily deals in detail with the special position of the Federal Republic of Germany in Europe and between East and West. It was written by the delegation of Chinese journalists that visited this country last May.

In a first article published several weeks ago and entitled "West of the Elbe" the visitors outlined impressions gained on their travels around the north of the country.

The second article continues in the same objective and detailed vein with a review of the Ruhr, Württemberg and Bavaria.

After dealing with the level of industrial development, export capacity and endeavours to contain inflationary tendencies the Chinese journalists go on to consider this country's foreign policy position.

"West Germany feels that its safety and part of Central Europe," the article explains, "On its Eastern frontier the one superpower has masses of troops stationed. This is a factor that the Federal Republic has to bear in mind."

West Germany feels that its safety and the balance of military power are dependent on the other superpower and the presence of US, British and French troops in the Federal Republic.

Vary though their estimates of policy towards the Soviet Union might, major government and Opposition spokesmen concur in their hope that US troops will remain stationed in the Federal Republic.

This makes military sense. In political terms 28 years have gone by since the end of the war without a peace treaty being concluded with Germany. On issues relating to Germany as a whole and West Berlin the Four Powers reserve their rights and obligations.

This is why the European Community and Western European solidarity are important in both economic and political terms for the Federal Republic.

Both this country and others in Western Europe realise full well, the Chinese journalists write, that without this solidarity West Germany would have difficulty in gaining its full right to a say in the conduct of world affairs today.

They go on to assess the prospects of genuine détente in Europe. "Europeans, including the Germans," the People's Daily article notes, "have lived through the catastrophes of two world wars and are thus most interested in relaxation of tension in Europe and the prevention of a new world war."

"But the social imperialists proclaim peace, security and détente in Europe on the one hand while on the other making not the slightest attempt to scale down their endeavours to boost their military might." This being so, the views of people in the Federal Republic vary.

Some people, the Chinese delegation reports, feel that negotiations of any kind and any kind of European security conference are better than none. Others reckon that no harm can be done by trying to sound out the real intentions of Soviet leaders in the course of negotiations.

Still others are "confused by the noisy speeches of Soviet leaders and feel that maybe a change has come about in Soviet policy towards Europe."

"Others again remain comparatively watchful. They listen to what the Soviet Union has to say but also keep a close watch on what it does. They have no confidence in salesmen of shoddy material, particularly when the salesmen are armed to the teeth yet at the same time talk stridently in terms of peace."

The Chinese journalists report in detail on an interview with a Munich professor who favoured genuine détente but not a relaxation of tension resulting in one side growing stronger while the other grew weaker.

They quote his view that Soviet policy is aimed at a reduction in US military presence, the prevention of military and political integration in Europe and keeping the European Community as small and divided as possible.

The article ends by quoting a well-known but likewise unspecified West German politician:

"At the moment there is a real danger of closing one's eyes to the facts and succumbing to illusions because one loves peace. The danger is that détente, security and peace are terms exerting such a powerful psychological influence."

"That is why those who pursue imperialist policies talk a great deal about détente. Those who would like to reduce the other side's troop strength talk a great deal about security. Those who pursue their own aims with warlike means talk a great deal about peace."

Gerd Ruge  
(Die Welt, 7 July 1973)

## Kosygin confers with Kreisky in Vienna

In 1960 he kept in the background, made a quiet and serious impression, unlike his leader, Nikita Khrushchev, spoke reasonable German and displayed particular interest in economic problems.

Thirteen years later Kosygin was in Vienna not as a man on the sidelines, as a key figure from the Kremlin, now a mere government delegate but as a Soviet Premier.

The second most powerful man in the Soviet Union, like his counterpart in Washington, and the world's superpower, is now engaged in a small, neutral countries along Danube.

Nearly twenty years after the signing of the Austrian State Treaty few problems remain outstanding between Austria and the Soviet Union.

Premier Kosygin and Chancellor Kreisky accordingly chose to review international issues. The Russian was dealing not merely with the leader of an insignificant country but with an internationally renowned statesman, before. The only thing uniting the two sides of the party are the three initials S.D. The discord reaches down to the very roots of party philosophy.

As far as its basic features are concerned, the pattern of conflict is much the same throughout the country. There is a difference of opinion between the pragmatists who as members of the Bundestag or local parliaments aim at gradual social change and those members, mainly delegates to party congresses, who wish to govern by means of anti-capitalist revolutions.

This second group naturally enough believes that it is the only democratic force within the party. There is no other explanation of why members of this group describe criticism of their resolutions and opposition to their decisions as "pre-democratic" and consequently undemocratic.

They do not realise that they are employing absolutist yardsticks or at least run the danger of adopting this course or, if they do realise it, they deny it. But when their opponents are in the majority they are quick to point to the passage in

the talks dealt in the main, however, with economic issues. Austria and the Soviet Union concluded a treaty on economic, scientific, industrial cooperation and cultural exchange agreements were also signed. The framework of bilateral relations exceeded in another context. Chancellor Kreisky noted that economic cooperation in Europe cannot overlook the economic groupings Comecon and the Common Market.

Premier Kosygin replied that cooperation was also being given to this project by his country and that opportunities making contact ought to be investigated. Vienna was particularly quick to accept that Alexei Kosygin lost not a word of Austria's arrangement with the European Community, an agreement that has in the past come in for vociferous criticism from the Soviet Union.

Edgar Scheel  
(Vorwärts, 12 July 1973)

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## ■ DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

## Ideological differences cause splits in the SPD

Hard times are in store for the Social Democrats. The division in the Munich branch of the party may not be typical for the Federal Republic as a whole, but it is no isolated case.

Struggles for power in the Frankfurt branch have been even more brutal at times and it often takes hard-fought compromises to patch up the differences in the Hamburg party between the rank and file on the one hand and the Senate and SPD members of the House of Burgesses on the other.

Varying degrees of conflict are to be found in other cities too and even smaller branches are occasionally split. Now that the party has reached the climax of its electoral success it is more concerned with its own image than it has been before. The only thing uniting the two wings of the party are the three initials S.D. The discord reaches down to the very roots of party philosophy.

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With friends like Heiner Bremer you don't need enemies, the Free Democrats must have thought the other day. Bremer, former head of the Young Democrats, inflated a dispute at executive level to a large-scale political conflict between party leader Walter Scheel and his general secretary, Karl Flach.

As a number of Free Democrat politicians were at the same time warning of coalition partners in the SPD against neo-Marxist tendencies and on the other hand cautiously paying court to the CDU/CSU some of the keenest observers in Bonn thought they detected a struggle for power. Some concluded that Flach wanted to resign while others claimed he wanted to become party leader.

It really is the Free Democrats only want to provide some encouragement for the CDU/CSU and also change their business manager. The manner in which it changes in personnel is being conducted refutes all rumours about a rift between Scheel and Flach.

Herr Hoffmann, the Foreign Office official who is replacing Herr Stancke, a Berlin lawyer, as FDP business manager, may be regarded as an absolutely faithful follower of Foreign Minister Scheel but the fact is: taking place not at Scheel's behest but as the result of a proposal by Hoffmann.

Hoffmann's appointment is obviously intended to refute the impression gained by many local branches of the FDP that the real head of the party is Scheel's personal adviser, Herr Woelker.

## Süddeutsche Zeitung

the statutes guaranteeing all sides a hearing.

The dispute has long been conducted along ideological lines. Local and regional party leaders are often as confused and helpless as the party leadership in Bonn if, that is, they are not actively involved as in Munich.

It is no coincidence that the (left-wing) SPD leadership in Munich opposes the right-wing majority on the city council and their mayors in city hall. Hans-Jochen Vogel neglected the party too long when he was Oberbürgermeister of Munich.

Vogel was neither interested or disturbed by the rank and file's feelings on rearmament or the codification of regulations for use in a state of emergency. When the activists turned their attention to local politics and part of the extra-parliamentary opposition began their long march through the institutions Vogel managed to oust the left wing from their newly-found positions on local party executives but his success did not last long and it was not the signal for the party as a whole as he had hoped.

The number of left-wing SPD delegates rose in Munich as elsewhere. As they obtained a majority they wished to enter city hall and govern the municipalities according to their own ideas.

Though Vogel was in a strong position he decided not to stand again for the position of Oberbürgermeister. The new mayor, Georg Kronawitter, was unable to offer sterner resistance and must have felt insecure during his first few months of office.

The fact that Kronawitter has now

gone over to the offensive may be due to his greater self-confidence and his realisation that the left-wing will not risk a formal split and their consequent impotence over the next five years.

His action must also have been governed by the wish to obtain a minimum of external solidarity before the elections to the Bavarian Provincial Assembly in 1974. But that does not alter the basic pattern of conflict.

The dispute could have catastrophic results for Vogel at the elections to the provincial assembly if the SPD register gains all over Bavaria and loses votes in Munich, as happened at last year's elections to the Bundestag.

His chances of robbing the CSU of its absolute majority and teaming up with the Free Democrats to rule Bavaria are low already. They would be non-existent if he lost votes in Munich.

That is why party leaders in Munich suspect that their former antagonist is trying to provide himself with an alibi. But they do not realise that they are providing him with almost every opportunity to do this.

Instead of themselves leading, they are allowing themselves to be led by the majority of delegates, even though this majority consists of a number of heterogeneous groups. Chairman Rudolf Schöberger is one of the worst in this respect.

When people like Schöberger object to the popular election of an Oberbürgermeister as they fear his omnipotence as a result, they can only be considered to have strange ideas about democracy. A majority at a party congress cannot be regarded as more democratic than a majority of the electorate.

There are two dangers here. First of all, sections of the SPD are evidently making the same mistake as they once accused the CDU and CSU of committing — identifying themselves with the State or municipality.

Secondly, representative democracy is being devalued. This does not mean to say that an "imperative mandate" is being considered. It is sufficient to describe voters as stupid. But voters will be able to have their revenge on those politicians who, in their own words, are providing information by means of agitation.

Hans Reiser

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 July 1973)

## Karl Carstens — a man of the future

The Bundestag is empty. You could wallow in this fact if it were not for the occasional steward or member of the committee of inquiry suddenly coming around the corner and giving a curt greeting. They are not happy about their holidays being ruined. "Nothing will come of the inquiry," they grumble.

But one man enters the party wing of the Bundestag at 8.15 almost every morning when journalists are still in bed. He is a junior member of the house even though he will be sixty next year.

He likes the irony of his situation. He only entered the Bundestag in November 1972 and is already undisputed head of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group and leader of the Opposition. Observers are forecasting a great future for him.

Professor Karl Carstens, who speaks quite normally and rarely indulges in the high-falutin language commonly associated with professors, says to his old friends: "Journalists learn much about what happens behind the scenes but imagine how much the leader of a parliamentary knows!"

Shortly after eight o'clock Professor Carstens has already started work in room twenty of the party wing. This is the spacious room once used by Rainer Barzel. Its former occupier is now sunning himself in Nice.

Carstens recently appointed a new head of organisation — Herr Neusel who was Chancellor Kiesinger's right-hand man until his defeat in 1969. Since then he adopted a waiting position and attracted most attention cycling through the woods surrounding Bonn.

Wherever former Chancellor Kiesinger appeared after his defeat in 1969, Neusel was never very far away smiling his waiting smile. His activities were never any more strenuous during this period. Neusel will now have too roll up his sleeves again as Carstens' right-hand man.

It is doubtful whether many of the parliamentary business managers of the CDU/CSU Bundestag group will survive the reshuffle planned for the autumn. Leo Wagner of the CSU is almost certain to remain but a big question mark hangs over the names Mikat, Rawe, Setters and von Wrangel. However much they twist the truth, they will not all be able to deny having close links with Rainer Barzel.

Carstens is at the moment considering what his next moves should be. Though he is still giving his law lectures at Cologne University he still meets experts in various branches of policy almost every day. This is a necessity as foreign policy is the only sector in which he is completely at home.

During the summer recess Carstens plans to spend a few days on the island of Fehmarn in the Baltic. His family originally came from this area and he still has a cousin there by the name of Hartwig Mackepreng.

Mackepreng once won the Fehmarn regatta on Carstens' yacht *Fairplay*. But Carstens will have little time for sailing this year. He will soon have to man the ropes in Bonn.

Carstens describes himself as an old liberal of Hanseatic origin. "He is always the first person to take his jacket off at meetings of the parliamentary party," a spokesman comments.

Carstens will move into a house of his own this autumn — at Beckenhof, a small town on the doorstep of Bonn. His wife has a medical practice in the town and she is also a member of the Protestant community there.

Walter Henkels

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 July 1973)

## No foundation for claims of a power struggle in the FDP

The alleged differences between the Foreign Minister and the FDP's general secretary may indeed be reduced to the conflict about Woelker's influence on Scheel. Woelker does not deny being a sort of eminence grise. "But should I sit around doing nothing when the Minister is not there and merely wait for instructions over the phone?" he asks.

Woelker attributes the criticism of his methods to what he calls the FDP's feudal structure. This, he claims, is the main reason why many methods employed within the party still date from the nineteenth century.

Woelker and Stancke are confusing party work with industrial management, other politicians in the FDP fear. At any rate they try to get their ideas adopted by using methods that are not always all that decorous.

"My relations with Walter Scheel are still good," Flach is quick to point out. He was surprised to read reports that he had had to wait three months for an interview with the party leader. Woelker too scotches this suggestion. "In the period in question Flach spoke with Scheel more than 25 times," he states.

But leading FDP politicians in Bonn claim that a mood of resignation now surrounds Flach. But this is due less to

The Free Democrats are insisting on Continued on page 5



## ■ STEINER AFFAIR

## Committee of inquiry clarifies little

Did Julius Steiner, the former Christian Democrat member of the Bundestag, receive fifty thousand Marks in exchange for his support of Chancellor Willy Brandt at last year's vote of no-confidence? Was he paid by Karl Wienand, the business manager of the Social Democratic parliamentary party in the Bundestag? Was the alleged bribe linked with Steiner's activities in the secret service? So far there have been no satisfactory answers to these questions. No shred of evidence has been forthcoming. It is gradually becoming clearer that only the key figure in the case can supply the answers. The question of Steiner's credibility is being raised more and more. The picture of Steiner's personality emerging from witnesses' statements before the parliamentary committee of inquiry does not hold out much prospect of gaining reliable information at the interrogation which is now due to begin in the nursing home where he is staying.

As far as I know, I am convinced that the only person with any accurate information is Herr Steiner," Peter Lahnstein, head of the Baden-Württemberg branch of the intelligence service, claimed.

His impression was shared by other persons attending the parliamentary committee of inquiry into the bribery affair surrounding Julius Steiner, the former Christian Democrat member of the Bundestag.

Steiner has already been shattered by the scandal and is now recuperating in a nursing home on the Tegernsee far away from Bonn. Beforehand he seems to have

term to the committee of the inquiry the witness added as an excuse: "Steiner had to be drawn into the apparatus." After all he had been recommended by no lesser figure than a local Premier and nobody could have opposed this arrangement even if he had wanted.

Herr Hauschildt, Steiner's former lawyer and himself a former contact of the Federal Intelligence Service, has had a serious rethink about his client. Only a year ago the two men used to meet at frequent intervals for informal chats. They were on first name terms and became close friends.

Today all that is forgotten and Hauschildt told the committee of the inquiry and the members of the public attending the hearings that Steiner was a man whom he would not have allowed to drive his car. He would have been careful to avoid him, had he known Steiner's views on the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw at an earlier date.

Eduard Adorno, head of the South Württemberg branch of the CDU and the current Baden-Württemberg Minister for Federal Affairs, also used to have a good opinion of Steiner.

Steiner had had a number of positions within the Baden-Württemberg branch of the party since 1962, he testified, and had been well informed and politically reliable. He only declined in political stature after taking to drink, Adorno claimed.

CDU member Werner Marx also claims to have smelt alcohol on Steiner's breath in the Bundeshaus in Bonn. This had been a chance meeting. But Steiner told his lawyer that he had told Marx of his contacts with the East under the cover of the intelligence service and that Marx had told him to carry on with this work. Marx describes Steiner's claims as products of his imagination.

Karl Moersch, Parliamentary State Secretary in the Foreign Office, described Steiner as a latter-day Münchhausen, a compulsive liar of German folklore, when he was suddenly and unexpectedly confronted by the committee of inquiry.

The files of the Federal intelligence service claim that Moersch once recom-



Karl Wienand

(Photo: Sven Simon)

mended a Herr Laube of East Berlin (whom he knew from Algeria) to Steiner, describing him as a "fine chap".

Moersch swore to the committee of inquiry that there was no substance to these allegations. It was however true that he had met Steiner a number of times, once in a café in far-off Biberach.

It is strange that an obscure Christian Democrat backbencher whom nobody claims to have known well received visits from such prominent members of the governing coalition as Karl Wienand and Karl Moersch. Nobody at the committee of inquiry was willing to accept this as a coincidence but these meetings prove nothing.

The Baeuchle couple cannot prove anything either even though it was in their home at Schelklingen, Swabia, that the fateful meeting between Karl Wienand and Steiner took place.

There had been casual mention of the fact that a Christian Democrat vote could be worth money to the coalition, they testify. They remember that amounts of a quarter of a million Marks had been mentioned.

Unfortunately, the Baeuchle couple were not present at that stage of the conversation when a more concrete offer might have been made. The wives had become bored with political discussions and left the room and Mayor Baeuchle had been called to the telephone. He did not return to the room for another fifteen to twenty minutes as he had found the subject of the conversation rather embarrassing, he told the committee of inquiry.

Returning to the embarrassing subject of money, the Baeuchles had to admit to receiving fifteen thousand Marks for supplying information to the Spiegel and the Südwestpresse.

Nobody emerges from these proceedings with much credit. But there is still no proof of corruption. Perhaps Julius Steiner himself will be able to provide evidence when he is interviewed.

The only evidence so far submitted to

Continued on page 5

## Wienand attacked for possible role in the case

Karl Wienand, business manager of the SPD members in the Bundestag, gradually being drawn into the case surrounding former Bundestag member Julius Steiner. While the Opposition set up a list of the points to be cleared by a Bundestag committee of inquiry, the SPD's position is more guarded. Steiner's part in the vote of no-confidence against Chancellor Brandt on 27 April 1972, the Illustrierte magazine Quick printed a declaration by Steiner in its issue of 12 June.

According to his statement, Steiner offered both money and an offer of position if he would vote with the government and against his own party. Only the offer of money materialized, however, and Steiner claims that he handed him fifty thousand Marks at the SPD's headquarters.

Herbert Wehner, the head of the parliamentary party, said he was convinced that Wienand had not been anything dishonourable. Wienand had said beforehand that no money had been made of money during his time with Steiner.

But Hans-Joachim Baeuchle, the Democratic Mayor of Schelklingen, Baden-Württemberg and a former member of the Bundestag, claims that money was mentioned. According to the Spiegel, a sum of 200,000 Marks was mentioned during a meeting between Wienand and Steiner's Schelklingen home. They were discussing how much a Bundestag member was worth in such a situation.

The Spiegel also published a letter from the business manager's intervention in favour at party headquarters in Baden-Württemberg for "the great service he kept pace with this inflow. We have gone beyond our means. The unlimited recruitment of past years is now a frequent cause of complaint. How are things to be put right?"

The search for a solution has also resulted in such unfortunate proposals as the compulsory repatriation. Under this

Workers have been driven to a point of rebellion by the compliant attitude of the trade unions and are refusing to obey either management or local trade union officials. Only a few months after manufacturers and the trade unions agreed to new pay deals the country is being swept by a wave of wild-cat strikes.

Workers came out at both Mannesmann in the Ruhr and the Vulkan works in Bremen. Token strikes were staged at Volkswagen and Klockner. Trade union headquarters and works councils were unable to prevent these actions and often made only a half-hearted attempt to stop them. The workers struck on their own initiative as they felt they were doublecrossed during the pay negotiations in the spring.

Many people claim that the leaders of the new strike movement are secret agents from the East and officials of the new Communist parties springing up all over the Federal Republic.

Alarmed manufacturers claim that these people wish to smash the democratic system and undermine the freedom to negotiate pay deals which has proved such an efficient method since the end of the Second World War.

But democracy and the freedom to negotiate pay deals do not represent values in their own right. They can only function as long as they fit in with the interests of the parties concerned.

Interests were not balanced adequately during the pay negotiations in the spring and this seems to be the main

## ■ LABOUR AFFAIRS

## Foreign workers' assimilation continues to present problems

On entering the Federal Republic for the first time, many foreign workers scarcely know where they are going to live. But they are well aware of the agreed monthly income and hourly rates.

Most of the Turks, Spaniards, Yugoslavs, Italians, Greeks and other nationalities at first view the Federal Republic from the financial aspect. They see it as a source of money for the taking.

But these foreign workers then settle in and find that life here is good — despite discrimination at work or in the street. The fact that the 2.4 million foreign workers later brought 1.6 million dependants to this country proves that the Federal Republic has become a second home to them.

But there is a shortage of accommodation for single workers or homes for families where they will not be forced to pay excessive rents by unscrupulous landlords. There are not enough language courses, kindergarten places, schools and teachers — and there are far too few advisers to hear the cares of this section of the population and help them in their complicated dealings with the authorities.

Citizens of Common Market countries, mainly Italians in this case, profit from the freedom of labour within the European Economic Community and do not have to queue for hours for a work permit.

The Federal Republic has opened its frontiers to four million foreigners, including dependants, in order to guarantee a prosperous economic future. There is no shortage of vacant jobs.

But our social infrastructure — schools and public transport — has not been able to keep pace with this inflow. We have gone beyond our means. The unlimited recruitment of past years is now a frequent cause of complaint. How are things to be put right?

The search for a solution has also resulted in such unfortunate proposals as the compulsory repatriation. Under this

ruling foreigners would not be asked when and if they want to return to their homeland but would simply be deported after a certain period of time.

Human beings would therefore be loaned from one country to another for a few years like machines and would be sent back when the time limit elapsed. Bavaria and Schleswig-Holstein tested this procedure but, thank goodness, soon thought better of it.

One proposal worth discussing, though it does not promise to be any more successful, is the suggestion by Josef Stügel, head of the Federal Labour Bureau, that foreign workers should be encouraged on a voluntary basis to stay in this country for only a certain period of time. Behind this idea lies the understandable desire to help those workers who are still waiting abroad for a work and residence permit to enter the Federal Republic. Introducing a quota, it is thought, would cut the length of waiting lists.

But foreign workers employed in this country would hardly deprive themselves of their pay packets for purely idealistic reasons. And it is not the government's job to make them more eager to return home by offering them a golden handshake.

That should instead be the responsibility of their country of origin which must have some interest in its citizens' finding work abroad, sending money home, gaining specialist knowledge and then returning home so that local industry can benefit.

But little help can be expected from this direction. On returning home, the foreign workers are often unable to find a job commensurate with their increased ability.

The new government programme promises to be more effective. It imposes a double obligation on the persons deriving most direct benefit from the employment of foreign labour — the employers. As the central government,

Federal states and local authorities also function as an employer, it is also imposing an obligation on itself.

According to this programme employers must promise to give their foreign workers decent accommodation. They are also being asked to pay the Federal Labour Bureau one thousand instead of seven hundred Marks when they have a foreign worker allocated to them.

Both these measures are designed to make employers consider very carefully whether it is worth employing foreign labour. As employing foreign workers is not always cheaper than introducing rationalisation measures, both private and State concerns will be forced to seek their own way out of the situation.

They will be able to decide between rationalisation, which will permanently reduce the labour force they require, and exploiting those sectors of the labour market where there are reserves. One course open to them is increasing the amount of part-time employment. Up to now few part-time jobs have been available.

If these measures bite, Bonn could put into action another section of its action programme and grant foreign workers a longer residence permit than the twelve-month document they receive at present. Their legal status would then be improved.

Once some balance has been established between the employment of foreign workers and the ability of the social infrastructure to absorb them, it should be so permanent that it does not easily break down.

The question is whether an increase in the hiring charge to one thousand Marks will actually prove a deterrent or whether the effects will simply be swallowed up by the continuing economic boom.

If this new ruling does not prove to be as successful as hoped, Bonn has another weapon in reserve to solve the problem — a special charge on the employment of foreign labour.

But Bonn will have to take this action off its own bat. The European Community's regional and welfare policy is still in its infancy. Taking production to the workers instead of viceversa will remain no more than a good intention for some time yet.

Klaus Bohmhof

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 10 July 1973)

## No power struggle in the FDP

Continued from page 3

activity within the party as their growing popularity in the country is due almost exclusively to the reputation of their government ministers.

The party could find itself in Opposition after the next general election if the SPD maintains its absolute majority. That is why it is paying court to the CDU/CSU.

But this is only one side of its two-edged strategy. The Free Democrats realise that according to the public opinion polls the SPD would obtain 52 per cent of the votes at a forthcoming general election. Together, the CDU with 37 per cent and the FDP with eleven per cent would only form a minority.

The Free Democrats realise that gains in their percentage share of the vote will be of little benefit to them if the SPD should obtain an absolute majority. That is why the party has issued warnings to the SPD recently and made friendly gestures towards the CDU/CSU. This must not (yet) be confused with any offers to form a future coalition. Ulrich Frank-Plantitz

(Deutsche Zeitung, 6 July 1973)

Continued from page 4

the committee of inquiry is connected with another case. On 6 July Free Democrat Karl Geldner presented a sworn declaration which seems to throw light on when the CSU tried to recruit him during a troublesome period for the government.

But members of the Baden-Württemberg intelligence service for whom Steiner worked under the name Zacharias were unable to raise the committee of inquiry's hopes of obtaining conclusive proof.

"Steiner's memory is not all that reliable," Lahnstein claims. Steiner himself always complained that he had no head for figures. One wit immediately conjectured that Steiner could have made a mistake about the number of noughts in the fifty thousand Marks' bribe he is alleged to have received. But nobody in Bonn has the heart to laugh about jokes in such bad taste. Hans Jörg Saitorf

(Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung, 7 July 1973)

The trade unions will then consult the statistics recording the drop in purchasing power and demand wage increases of over ten per cent. They will also insist that the voluntary pay increases now being granted should be incorporated in the new pay deal.

The long-term effects of the wild-cat strikes could therefore be more detrimental to the government, trade unions and workers have learned from the events of the first six months of 1973 that stability cannot be decreed via friends in the unions.

They will have to recognise the pointlessness of ignoring the laws of the market in a system based on the free negotiation of wages. One day greater attention will have to be paid to these laws of the market.

The more these laws of the market govern future negotiations, the greater the temptation becomes of finding a way round them through legislation. The ugly word for this procedure is "wage freeze". If the next pay deals encourage inflation as much as expected, there will be serious discussion about imposing a price freeze for the first time since the war.

The wild-cat strikes in recent weeks cannot be held responsible for any such consequences of a poorly-conducted policy of stability. But they are the first sign for the poor quality of government stability measures since the governing coalition's election victory last autumn.

Ernst Willenbrock

(Deutsche Allgemeine Sonntagsblatt, 8 July 1973)



Julius Steiner

(Photo: J.H. Darchinger)

had contacts with people of all shades of political opinion.

The committee of inquiry has been unable to get any nearer the truth because of this labyrinth of claims, suspicions and concealments. Sometimes it appears that the nine committee members do not have enough enthusiasm and interest in the case.

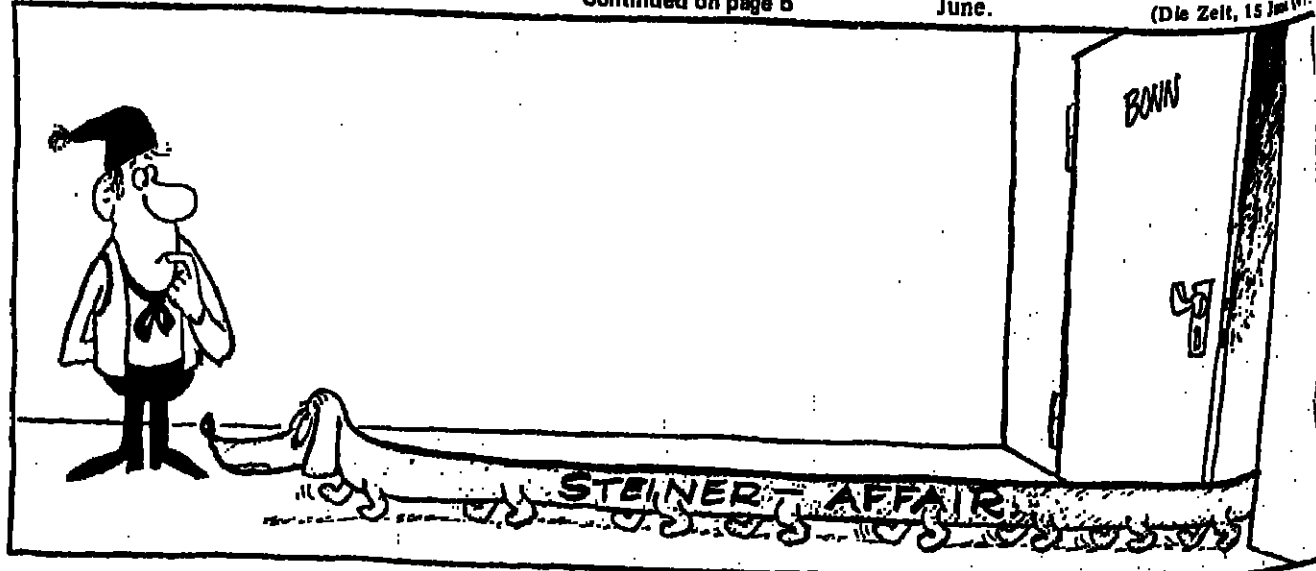
Though it sometimes seems that they are afraid their respective political parties could be harmed by the revelations, it must be remembered that the members of the committee are grossly overworked.

Members of the Baden-Württemberg intelligence service were first to testify. They stated that Julius Steiner had been recommended by Gebhard Müller, then Premier of the Federal state, as an "intelligent operator" as far back as 1953.

The current head of the intelligence service does not agree with Müller's verdict and claims that Steiner had not been much above average. But he was a useful member of the intelligence service, he concedes, as he had many contacts.

The scant monthly fee of two hundred Marks at most indicates how meagre Steiner's information must have been for the intelligence service. It therefore gave him no more than "occasional contact" status.

After explaining the meaning of this



(Cartoon: Felix Mussa/Frankfurter Rundschau)



## ■ COMMON MARKET

# US soybean export embargo upsets EEC appletart

I wouldn't be at all surprised if Common Market Agricultural Commissioner Lardinois were to go down on bended knees before long and beg President Nixon to be allowed to purchase more agricultural produce in the United States," a European Community official recently wisecracked.

Only a week beforehand France had wielded all the influence at its command in the Council of Ministers to ensure that in the forthcoming round of international trade talks no further breaches are made in the common agricultural market for imports from the United States and elsewhere.

Two days later, to the dismay of both Europe and Japan, President Nixon imposed restrictions on soybean exports. Further embargoes are felt to be within the realms of possibility.

Traditional stands in the debate on the future relationship between Western Europe and the United States seem suddenly to have turned turtle.

In monetary policies, power supplies and technology developments are also in the offing that will compel statesmen and industrialists on both sides of the Atlantic to reconsider their views.

America's export restrictions on soybeans mainly affect cattle and poultry farmers in Europe. It could well be that the Common Market's cereal and butter surplus will soon cease to represent a problem even though President Nixon plans to decontrol soybean exports after the next harvest.

The ties between America's soybean embargo and Europe's cereals surplus are, as it happens, surprisingly close.

In the past soya beans imported from the United States have, according to Common Market statistics from Brussels, met sixty per cent of the European Community's fodder requirements.

To fill the gap the Common Market could, of course, fall back on its wheat surplus. But the protein content of wheat is only a third of the soybean protein content, so the present wheat surplus would, at a rough estimate, be used up.

The Common Market's agricultural fund would have to subsidise wheat as fodder in order not to price meat, milk, eggs and poultry out of the market.

President Nixon had to impose the export restrictions because of changes in ocean currents off the coast of Peru. The United States is the world's major supplier of soybeans but also uses fishmeal from Peru as fodder.

Variations in Pacific Ocean currents have resulted in a decline in fish catches off the coast of Peru and a corresponding decline in Peru's fishmeal yield. Within a year the price of soybean meal in the United States increased by no less than 320 per cent.

President Nixon was forced to impose a partial ban on soybean exports in order to combat spiralling food prices at home. American farmers are already arguing that eggs are netting them a loss of half a cent each. Animal foodstuffs are fast growing scarce in US supermarkets.

America's anti-inflation measures ought to be to Europe's liking since the current inflationary trends in Europe are largely the result of inflation in the United States.

The current changes off the coast of Peru will also, in the long term, result in upward pressure on meat prices in particular in Western Europe, but the immediate repercussions could at least be partially offset if wheat fodder were subsidised in time from the common agricultural fund.

Funds are available for the time being and do not need to be raised by means of additional levies because the greater part of the common agricultural fund's revenue comes from import levies, again for the most part on agricultural produce, that flow straight into the Common Market's coffers.

Without going into undue detail the resulting tendency would be a further weakening of the dollar in relation to the European currencies floating jointly in terms of dollars and cents.

Yet currency specialists already feel the dollar to be undervalued, and France, not to mention other Common Market countries, reckons that its export prospects in relation to non-Market countries are taking a knock.

As recently as four years ago all European countries lamented that the Americans, using dollars that then were overvalued, were buying up European firms and their patent rights at give-away prices.

Now the boot is on the other foot and European firms have a golden opportunity of buying their way into US

technology for a song. Never before have American stocks and shares been so inexpensive for European buyers.

To judge by recent statistics British firms seem to have most firmly grasped the opportunity even though sterling is not exactly the world's hardest currency at present.

From the monetary angle European take-over bids for American firms would be desirable as a means of re-exporting to the United States the thousands of millions of dollars that have been transferred to Europe in recent years by speculators.

What is more, Western Europe would, by buying its way into US know-how, help to bridge the technological gap that separates the two sides of the Atlantic.

The recent revaluation of the Mark has afforded this country additional protection. For some time other Common Market countries have been wondering how it is that despite a succession of revaluations this country's exports continue to soar.

One possible explanation that has now occurred to them is this: Maybe Federal

Republic exporters have been able to maintain their position because imports of raw materials and semi-finished products have grown successfully cheaper with each revaluation of the Mark.

The latest developments ought to rise to an agonising reappraisal on the sides of the Atlantic. Were France or other Common Market countries right object to increases in agricultural imports from the United States?

For that matter, were Washington's this country right in advocating a wide scope for agricultural imports from the United States?

Is it a mistake for countries to revaluations merely in the light of the export prices? How much of a cheaper imports play in offsetting the higher cost of exports in terms of currencies?

Might not a temporarily undervalued dollar be of greater use to Europe's the swift return to dollar convertibility demanded by the French?

This is a long list of questions to answers chosen could easily enough, wrong ones.

At all events it is apparent that mutual interdependence of the United States, the Common Market and Japan: the one hand (Japan is far harder hit); Western Europe by the US embargo (soybean exports) and developing countries such as Peru and the petrodollar-exporting countries on the other is underestimated.

Erich Hase

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 July 1973)

## Clouds gather at Strasbourg Parliament

Commissioner's refusal to commit himself to contempt of Parliament and threatened to introduce a motion of no confidence in the luckless Scarscia Mugnozza.

Eventually, despite vigorous protests from the floor, question time was declared ended.

The European Parliament enjoys so few powers that it is hardly surprising MPs are riled. 183 of them, not including Britain's Labour contingent, who have yet to join the ranks of parliamentarians seconded to Strasbourg from Bonn, Paris, Westminster and so on, can as yet only make binding decisions regarding their own budget of 24 million units of account (erstwhile dollars) this financial year.

An improvement on this state of affairs is not to be expected until 1975. Then, and then only, is the European Parliament to be granted a greater say in the spending of the Common Market's budget.

Most of the Commission's proposals must be submitted to the Parliament for debate, but the decisions are made exclusively by the Council of Ministers over which the Strasbourg Parliament has no powers of veto.

Even such additional powers as it gains in the course of time will be gained by the grace and favour and are subject to the permission of the Council of Ministers, the very body on which prerogatives additional powers must necessarily impinge!

It took two years of debate and question time to gain approval of a concerned, yet few procedures are so, well the intrinsic weakness of the European Parliament.

The Commission can be summoned to Strasbourg without difficulty, but whether the Council of Ministers decides to question and answer depends on whether or not the Ministers in question are prepared to submit to the cross-examination.

In his maiden speech in January Kirk shocked the old hands with allegations of inactivity and process that his group would utilise to the full its parliamentary means at its disposal.

In threatening to table a motion of confidence in Signor Scarscia Mugnozza he was, however, overplaying his hand. The European Parliament is entitled to pass by a two thirds majority a vote of confidence in the Commission as a whole but not in an individual member of the Commission.

What is more, the Strasbourg Parliament in any case to have been aware of the fact that Agricultural Commissioner Lardinois would not be there.

Their agricultural committee was only informed of the London visit but had also given its approval, particularly one-time Dutch Agriculture Minister Lardinois had undertaken to appear before the Parliament two days later.

Somewhere along the line there have been a breakdown in communications. How else could the assembly be hot for the European Commission, but out to be a storm in a teacup?

(Handelsblatt, 4 July 1973)

## INDUSTRY More and more firms become limited companies

This country's industry is changing its structure — more and more concerns are abandoning their status as joint-stock companies and are becoming limited companies.

This trend has been prompted by two measures proposed by the government — the reform of legislation applying to limited companies and regulations allowing broader sections of the population to participate in the productive capital of industry.

These plans are not prompted merely by the fact that the number of persons purchasing shares for the first time has dropped. As many as 1.3 million persons who bought VEB shares when they were first issued have sold them — that is more than half.

It appears that the Federal Republic cannot be turned into a nation of shareholders — and definitely not where limited companies are concerned. Bonn will have to think again.

The number of joint-stock companies dropped from 6,094 to 2,271 between 1957 and the end of last year although basic capital rose from 18.7 to 64.3 milliard Marks.

The number of limited companies rose from 30,545 to 100,690 in the same time span and capital increased to just under 53 milliard Marks.

At the end of last year the

capitalisation of limited companies was even twenty per cent less than that of the joint-stock companies. The ten years between 1963 and 1973 have now become known as the decade of the limited companies. In this period alone the number of firms more than doubled and their capital rose by 150 per cent.

In 1972 alone no fewer than 16,989 new limited companies with a basic capital of one and a half milliard Marks were listed the Federal Republic's trade register.

But 2,725 already existing limited companies increased their basic capital to a total five and a half milliard Marks. Four and a half milliard of this sum were raised from capital and material investment and only one milliard from capital increases out of the limited company's own funds.

This marks a turning-point. For the first time the increase in the capital of limited companies has exceeded the capital increases of the 425 joint-stock companies which amounted to only four milliard Marks.

Interest in share dealings waned. Twelve joint-stock companies with a capital of 11.3 million Marks started liquidation proceedings and a further nine with a capital of 28.1 million Marks folded up completely.

The remainder were not considered a good investment on the stock exchange, even if they wanted to be represented. At the end of last year only 505 of the Federal Republic's joint-stock companies were quoted on the stock exchange. This was fewer than one quarter. But these joint-stock companies quoted on the stock exchange possessed basic capital of 38 milliard Marks — more than half of the basic capital owned by all 2,271 joint-stock companies.

Gert Tigges

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 July 1973)

## Americans propose fuel-sharing project

The United States government wishes to intensify cooperation between America and Europe in various critical sectors of oil supply. State Secretary Delley-Karsten Rohwedder of the Economic Affairs Ministry learned during negotiations with senior officials of the Nixon administration.

Washington wishes to draw up international procedure for sharing fuel supplies in times of crisis and increase consultation and cooperation between the oil-consuming countries. This must not however be regarded as a bloc opposing OPEC, the organisation of oil-producing countries.

Rohwedder was also told that the current energy crisis in America appeared to be drawing towards an end and that it was now hoped to regain control over the supply bottlenecks in the refinery sector. The Americans believe that Europe and Japan, with their even greater reliance on external fuel sources, have more grounds to fear an energy crisis.

As far as the forthcoming GATT negotiations have been instructed to claim mentioned the difficulties they recently had in passing the Trade Bill. The US government sees the GATT negotiations about compensation as an important test and hopes to be able to present Congress with a satisfactory outcome to these talks. Washington expects compensation for the entry of the three new members into the European Community.

Rohwedder states that the American negotiators have been instructed to claim compensation in the agricultural sector as well as for losses American exports sustain in the industrial sector.

State Secretary Rohwedder had talks with Mr. Casey, who is responsible for economic questions as well as being deputy secretary for foreign affairs, with Mr. Flanagan, President Nixon's chief adviser on trade policy, with the head of

the President's economic affairs committee, Dr. Stein, and with Deputy Secretary of State Simon who is responsible for energy supply.

The question of sharing and rationing reserves of imported crude oil would soon be discussed by the appropriate committee of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Rohwedder announced.

(Handelsblatt, 6 July 1973)

## Volkswagen plans to start factory in America

Rudolf Leiding, head of Volkswagen, told two thousand shareholders at the recent annual general meeting in Wolfsburg that his organisation is considering setting up plant in the United States. The American branch would use parts manufactured in the Federal Republic.

"Establishing a factory in America would help ensure full employment at our factories in the Federal Republic and would be to the trading advantage both of the Federal Republic and other countries," Leiding explained. The United States is seeking a reduction in imports while Bonn wishes to reduce exports.

Leiding spoke of the need to end Volkswagen's overwhelming dependence on exports. At present the firm is exporting more than seventy per cent of its production and is therefore particularly sensitive to any alteration of currency exchange rates. Exporting sixty per cent of production and selling forty per cent to the home market would not represent such a great risk currency-wise, Leiding stated.

Leiding was confident that Volkswagen could regain its dominant position in the automobile industry once its new models were in full production. But this would not be easy in the face of growing British and Japanese competition, he admitted. Leiding pointed out that the Passat and other new models soon to be unveiled would have front-wheel drive and a water cooling system though Volkswagen was not going to abandon its air cooling system completely.

There has been a Volkswagen revival in a number of countries, Leiding maintained. "I am certain that the old Beetle will continue to exist at the end of the seventies," he forecast.

Turning to the current financial year, Leiding stated that VW had delivered 1,025,000 vehicles all over the world in the first five months, 13.8 per cent more than in the comparable period last year.

Volkswagen's increased sales have been relatively modest at only 3.9 per cent, he admitted. But the 65.6 per cent growth where Audi NSU was concerned reflected the success of the Audi 100 model.

The turnover of the organisation as a whole increased 12.1 per cent between

January and May to total seven and a half milliard Marks. Volkswagen's turnover had increased 13.6 per cent to reach 5.1 milliard Marks. It was however wrong, Leiding pointed out, to expect greater profits as a result. No spectacular improvement of the current position can be expected this year.

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 4 July 1973)

## Business looks up for the chemicals industry

The chemicals industry in the Federal Republic increased its turnover by an unexpectedly high 13.7 per cent in the first four months of this year. With a turnover of 20.7 milliard Marks there has been an evident revival in his sector after three years of poor business.

The Chemicals Industry Association's annual report for 1972/73 however views the prospects for 1973 as a whole with some caution as the full effects of the currency crisis and the government and Federal Bank's stability and credit policies are still not known.

The Association repeated members' fears that the abolition of tax write-offs and the investment surcharge imposed by the recent stabilisation package might also effect investment aiming at greater rationalisation and cheaper prices.

Foreign trade contributed most to the revival of the chemical industry. Exports up to and including April increased by over twenty per cent to reach 8.2 milliard Marks.

As far as price rises are concerned, the chemicals industry once again set a good example to the rest of industry. Manufacturing prices were only raised by 1.3 per cent between January and April.

Last year the chemicals industry was able to achieve its paramount aim as manufacturers — the improvement of profits — by raking in an extra 25 per cent. But this only partly balanced the forty per cent drop in 1970 and 1971.

Profits rose considerably more impressively than turnover which increased by only six per cent to total 56 milliard Marks. Personnel figures remained largely constant at 577,000.

(Kloster Nachrichten, 6 July 1973)

## Western European companies cooperate in computer giant

The Compagnie Internationale pour l'Informatique (CII), Philips and Siemens plan to cooperate in computers using the name UNIDATA.

An agreement signed on 4 July merging the interests of these three companies in the data-processing sector has resulted in the establishment of one of the largest computer groups outside the United States.

Process computers and other special installations will remain the property of the parent companies. At the signing ceremony it was also stated that the agreement on cooperation was open to other concerns.

UNIDATA obviously aims at cooperation with the Nixdorf-Teslofunken computer group. Cooperation with American computer firms cannot be excluded either. Approach to the British company ICL are also being considered even though Siemens has responded coolly in the past to offers from London. Now that Britain has entered the Common Market perhaps Philips will be able to change Siemens' mind.

A number of statistics illustrate the significance UNIDATA could have for Europe. The companies in the group deliver twenty thousand items of equipment ranging from office computers to large-scale computer installations. The

value of these installations amounts to six milliard Marks. The group's annual turnover totals 2.2 milliard Marks. Fifty per cent of the firm is registered by Siemens. Its share of the market amounts to eight per cent in Europe and two per cent internationally. The group's share of the Federal Republic market is the same as that of Siemens — sixteen per cent.

The UNIDATA companies employ a staff of 35,000 in their computer section — sixteen thousand at Siemens, twelve thousand at Philips and seven thousand at CII. The group has fourteen development and production centres in six countries and distribution and service agencies in more than thirty. A committee consisting of three delegates from each of the three companies will be responsible for business policy. CII, Philips and Siemens are to set up three UNIDATA branches in Paris, Apeldoorn and Munich to coordinate and supervise the activities of the three partners within UNIDATA. The heads of the three firms' computer sections will act as heads of these branches.

All methods and channels of distribution will be standardised and joint distribution companies will gradually be built up on a national basis.

Research, development and production will be carried out in the supply centres of the parent companies. These supply centres will be supervised and coordinated by the distribution branches. A company will be set up in Amsterdam to administer the joint distribution companies on behalf of the three UNIDATA partners.

(Handelsblatt, 6 July 1973)

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## SHIPPING

## Union officials blacklist 100 ships that defy wage agreement

Strike action by seamen and dockers against merchant shipping in this country has been taken only three times since the war: in 1953, 1970 and 1972. Another spat could now be in the offing. OTV, the transport workers union, to which 12,000 out of roughly 35,000 Federal Republic seamen belong, has strike and boycott moves in the pipeline.

Some 100 freighters owned by fifty shipping firms in this country to which the management claims, last January's new wage agreement (including nine-per-cent increases) does not apply, are in line for blacklisting.

OTV has already appealed to the International Transport Workers Federation for support in "blacklisting" the rogue freighters, and to be on the safe side the union has despatched officials by air to Scandinavia, Benelux and overseas in order to ensure that even ports that are off the beaten track know who the offenders are and take appropriate action.

This trade union chase is symptomatic of the economic straits the Federal Republic merchant navy is in. In days gone by Kaiser Wilhelm II reckoned that Germany's future was on the high seas. Certainly, many owners are currently in deep water.

"Successive Mark revaluations have proved a grave setback in the face of international competition," Dr Karl-Horrmann Necker, president of the Federal Republic Shipowners Association, claims. "Staff and capital investment costs have also risen sky-high."

Once upon a time, before the First World War, the Germans had the second-largest merchant navy in the world, consisting of 2,090 vessels with 5.1 million gross registered tons between them. Germany was second only to Britain with 8,587 ships and 18.9 million gross registered tons.

Currently the Federal Republic rates only ninth in the tonnage stages with 744 vessels and some seven million GRT. This country's stake in the world's merchant fleet is a fraction over three per cent.

Dr Necker notes worriedly that this state of affairs exists despite the fact that foreign trade, specifically this country's exports and imports, is increasing by leaps and bounds.

Thirty-seven out of the country's 148 shipping companies have a mere 5,000 tons afloat, equivalent to one medium-sized freighter. A further 41 shipowners own between 5,000 and 20,000 tons, say three to four medium-sized freighters.

Some sixty per cent of the overall tonnage is owned by two dozen companies. So far they alone have been in a position to modernise and change over to larger units, be they container freighters, tank ships or tankers.

The flagship of the Federal Republic's merchant navy is the 254,000-ton *Esso*

owned by Esso Tankers of Hamburg.

The most up-to-date container fleet, consisting of ten units between 15,000 and 55,000 GRT, is the Hamburg Express fleet owned and run by the country's largest and oldest line, Hapag-Lloyd of Hamburg, with an annual turnover of 1,100 million Marks.

Since the war merchant shipping in this country has invested 19,000 million Marks in new and converted vessels. Government subsidies in the form of low-interest loans, direct grant, subsidies towards interest payments and scrap allowances have amounted to some 2,000 million Marks.

Currently both government assistance and willingness to risk capital investment have declined, and the industry can field a number of arguments by way of explanation:—

—Finance for the construction of expensive new vessels must be raised on the no less expensive domestic market with interest rates of twelve to thirteen per cent.

—Ten per cent premium (fifteen per cent for tankers) on new vessels is only paid to owners who have their ships built in local yards, which again are far more expensive than those in other countries.

—Domestic legislation compels owners to take on larger crews than necessary. These crews earn more money than sailors from any other countries in Europe. Costs are likewise boosted by strict safety precautions.

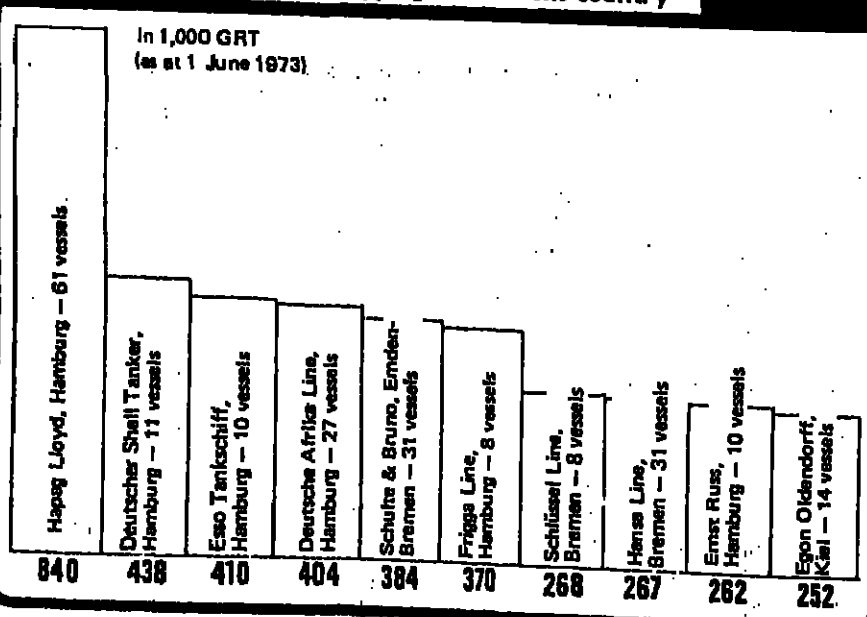
Even the Hapag-Lloyd container fleet, in which rationalisation has been a byword, still carries a complement of forty-two: one captain, four navigational officers, one radio officer, two cadets, one chief engineer, three engineers, one electrician, one assistant electrician, three technical assistants, three stewards, one boatswain, one carpenter, one storeman, six stokers, eight ABs, one cook, one cook's mate, one steward and two washers-up.

They earn good money too, which is more than used to be the case. For years the boat was on the other foot, but since 1969 wages have risen by two thirds.

Thousands of sailors from this country used to work on foreign vessels because the money was better. The situation has so changed that only 800 still work for foreign owners.

By the terms of the current wage agreement a deckhand can earn up to 1,350 Marks a month, including overtime.

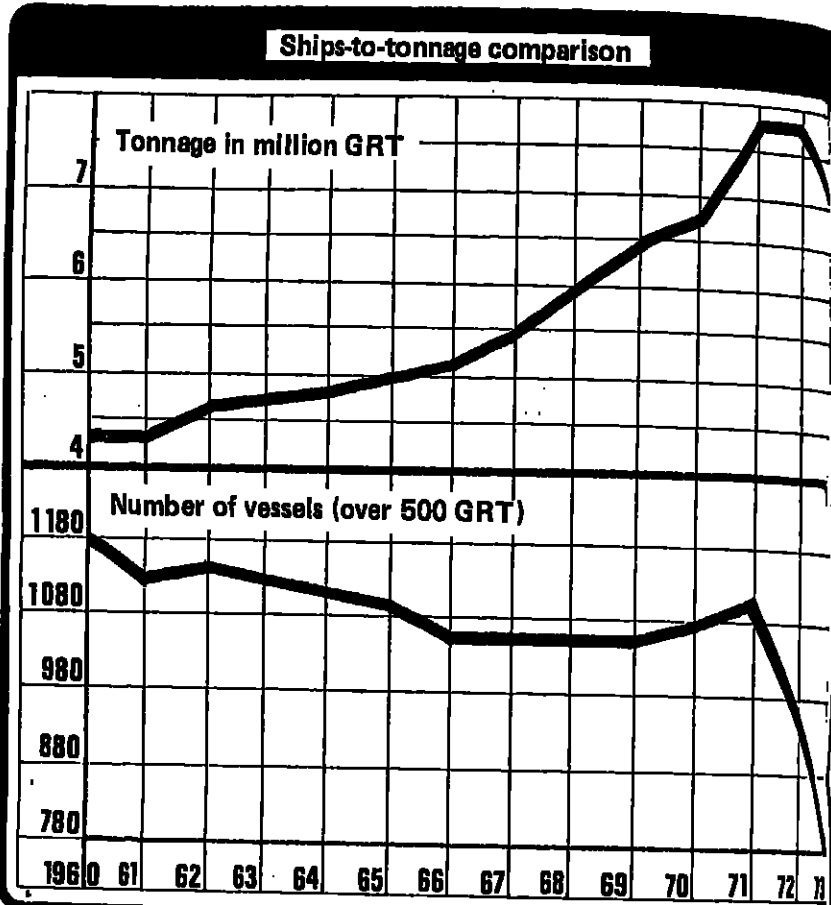
Ten Major shipping lines in this country



(Die Welt, 13 July 1973)

## Liner sale

*Hanseatic*, Deutsche Atlantik Line's 23,000-ton liner, is up for sale. Owner Axel Blisch-Christensen was not prepared to discuss the price of his luxury liner, but disclosed that it is to be handed over to the new owner, Home Lines of Geneva, at the end of September. The new owner's vessels are registered in Panama. The sale has been rendered necessary by the dollar crisis, it was explained.



(Diagrams: Wirtschaftswoche No. 1)

Now a deckhand can be compared with a non-skilled industrial worker and these are the official rates. He may be paid more.

A boatswain, comparable with a master craftsman in an industrial trade, earns roughly 2,400 Marks a month.

A radio officer earns up to 3,000 Marks a month, a chief engineer some 3,800 Marks and a captain — at union rates — anything up to 4,536 Marks.

All members of crew are guaranteed three months holiday a year. "In the course of time we are going to have to give them even more," Herbert C. Helms, himself an ex-president of the shipowners association, feels.

In order to prevent hardship all owners allow crew members to take their wives with them on long journeys, and certainly permit wives on board, though not, as yet, fiancées and girlfriends. On coastal routes Hapag-Lloyd even allow children on board.

Up-to-date container vessels boast swimming-pools, games and hobby rooms, a photo lab, a library and a cinema. Size and fittings of cabins and messes are well above international minimum standards, which specify for ships of more than 10,000 tons 4.75 square metres of cabin per AB and 7.5 square metres per officer.

On Hapag-Lloyd's container vessels wage costs represent only five per cent of running costs, but on most not so

up-to-the-minute 5,000 to 10,000 wages still account for between thirty and forty per cent of operational costs, not to mention the immediate future to exorbitant international comparisons of economy or competitiveness.

Profit and, indeed, survival conditions are forcing many owners to emigrate, as it were. A considerable number of their vessels have been reregistered under flags of convenience countries such as Liberia, Panama, Greece, Honduras, Cyprus and Liberia, charging lower taxes, insisting on minimum wages and enforcing strict safety regulations.

Hamburg shipowner Frank M. R. does a little arithmetic to demonstrate that on a 15,000-ton multi-purpose freighter the difference in wages between the home ensign and a flag of convenience can be anything up to 12 million Marks a year depending on the extent of automation. Two of his ships fly the flag of Panama.

Since April 1971 two hundred freighters with a combined tonnage of 1.1 million GRT, or four times the volume of Hamburg's Alster, the city-centre lake with its yachts and ferry-boats, have been deregistered in this country and transferred, for the most part, to flag-of-convenience by the same, domestic owners.

For the first time since the war the tonnage of the country's merchant fleet has taken a dive.

OTV, the trade union, does not deny the fact. Nonetheless it is determined to ensure that the rogue freighters and blacklisted shipowners pay their crew eleven per cent more, not nine per cent as in January.

Trade union officials are fighting hard in which they no longer believe. OTV shipping expert Heinrich Rabe, who was himself a ship's officer for ten years, admits that "going to sea is no longer an attractive proposition for anyone."

His assistant, one-time captain Klein, reckons that "every day you spend at sea is time lost."

Klein left the merchant navy to study law at university three years ago and is shortly taking his degree. His faculty, Hamburg University has no fewer than forty ex-captains and ship's officers enrolled as students. There is a larger number at the economics faculty where admission requirements are strenuous.

(Wirtschaftswoche, 6 July 1973)

## AUTOMOBILES

## Car-owners should not be completely ignored in city traffic plans

### Frankfurter Rundschau

The Future of Our Cities and The Future of the Automobile were the twin topics of a two-day press gathering held at Garmisch-Partenkirchen by the Motor Manufacturers Association.

Coping with traffic was, of course, the problem, and the aim was to shed light on the relationship between automobiles, people and transport.

In the initial lecture Herr Diekmann, an economist, noted that in part pedestrian precincts and the efficiency of public transport systems have been improved but that even in localities where this is the case built-up areas still tend to show signs of bursting at the seams.

Disatisfaction is growing, emotion is let loose. The private car, both the alleged root of all evil and an alibi, is accused of destroying our cities and representing a threat to the environment.

To this extent there is some justification in asking whether in fact the deliberately promoted concentration of employment in urban areas has not necessarily led to circulation complaints in both the public and private transport sectors.

In many cases building and transport planning have not or have only inadequately been coordinated, with the result that growth has increasingly appeared to be reaching finite barriers.

In the course of the conference, the aim of which was to determine how best to cope with the damage that has already been caused, three lecturers dealt with the specific problems of Frankfurt.

Cologne and Munich. It was agreed that merely affording priority to public transport, the government slogan, is not going to solve the problems.

Town planner Wilfried Ehrlich pointed out that the call for a ban on private cars in the city is a grave mistake. Without cars Frankfurt, for instance, could not exist.

The Frankfurt region is inconceivably dependent on private traffic, the city having been rebuilt fairly haphazardly the war along roads left over from the Middle Ages.

When the first transport planners made their appearance in the city in 1960 development had long since rendered sensible solutions to traffic problems impossible. To all intents and purposes Frankfurt was growing faster than planners could respond. Building land prices soared and the construction industry boomed.

Private traffic in city-centres must, of course, be kept to a minimum, but how is one to go about it? Should the number of parking lots be reduced, meter fees be increased or traffic on the move discouraged by reducing access to motor traffic?

If restrictions are to be imposed who is

to impose them? Who, for that matter, is going to permit further use of the motor-car? There are a great many questions here and they call for a fair number of answers.

By and large Frankfurt is counting on two moves against long-term parkers to do the trick. When new office blocks are built the parking facility regulations of 1939 are quietly ignored with official approval. Indeed, the fewer parking-places are provided, the better.

Secondly, the longer you park in city-centre multi-storey car parks, the progressively more expensive it becomes. This change has already led to a reduction in the number of nine-till-five parkers in multi-storey car parks. They are now tending to clutter up the roadside even more.

What is more, the reduction in the number of nine-till-fivers and the corresponding increase in the number of one-hour stands has meant that more traffic has been on the move in the city centre.

Frankfurt is certainly trying to keep city-centre private motorists down to a minimum, as far as transport facilities will reasonably allow. But the required development concept has yet to be found.

The suburban electric and underground railway networks in the process of development will undoubtedly improve the situation, but it will be a long time before alternative facilities are provided that are sufficiently accessible to traffic.

In a sparkling discourse Dieter Kust outlined the traffic problems of Cologne, a city which 205,000 private cars a day already use the bridges over the Rhine in both directions.

Munich architect and publicist Herr Klühschless chose to dispense with specific facts, preferring instead to provide a fireworks display of tenets and ideas, details of which cannot be gone into.

The first day of the conference, chaired by Professor Retzko, came to the following conclusions:—

No one could have foreseen ten or fifteen years ago the density of urban traffic today. The blame can hardly be laid at the transport planners' doors. A further increase in city traffic is not advisable, there being a limit to the amount of traffic road and rail can carry.

Residential areas in city centres and their immediate vicinity must be maintained at all costs, and residents must retain their mobility too. City-dwellers must not be allowed to become second-class motorists.

In future suburbs must be provided with rail links with the city, and the city itself must remain habitable, with the shortcomings of all modes of transport kept to a minimum. There must be no through traffic, only local traffic.

People are unquestionably growing more mobile, and improvements to existing road and rail facilities cannot keep pace with developments. If cities are to remain workable priority must indeed be afforded to public transport.

But suburbia spawns not only rush-hour but also shopping and holiday traffic. In a motorised age the private car cannot be dispensed with altogether. A crucial factor in the solution of future transport problems will be improved coordination between urban and transport planners.

Eberhard Seifert

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 30 June 1973)

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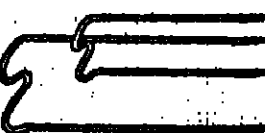
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## CINEMA

Indian director Satyajit Ray  
awarded Berlin's Golden Bear

Satyajit Ray's *Distant Thunder* was judged the best film at this year's Berlin Film Festival and awarded the Golden Bear for what was described as its artistically significant and deeply impressive depiction of human destiny in an easily comprehensible form.

No Berlin Film Festival would be complete without one of the calm, low-profile films by Indian director Satyajit Ray. *Distant Thunder* is a story of village life during the Bengal famine of 1942.

It is a film dealing with the misery that deprives human beings and the Brahmin doctor who tries to relieve it. It tells the story with cool, calm credibility that will entrance any filmgoer with the necessary patience.

No Silver Bears were awarded this year for individual performances but this second-highest festival prize did go to six feature films, two from France and one each from Argentina, the Federal Republic, Brazil and Britain.

The films involved were André Cayatte's *No Smoke without Fire* from France, Leopoldo Torre Nilsson's *Revolution of the Seven Madmen* from Argentina, Yves Robert's *Tall Blond with a Black Shoe*, Norbert Kückelmann's *Experts from the Federal Republic*, the Brazilian film *Nudity will be Punished* by Amoldo Jabur and David Hemmings' *Fourteen*.

André Cayatte's *No Smoke without Fire* and *Return from Africa* by Swiss director Alain Tanner were awarded the prizes of the International Catholic Film Bureau (OIC) and the international Protestant film jury Interfilm.

*Gunshots in the Factory*, a film by Finnish director Laukka Tehtäällä that was premiered at the Berlin Film Festival was awarded three thousand Marks of the Otto Dibelius Film Prize. The Protestant film jury awarded the remaining one thousand Marks to *Josef Schütz*, a short film from Yugoslavia.

France entered Yves Robert's *Tall Blond with a Black Shoe*, a secret service comedy full of subtle humour. The head of a secret service wishes to teach his deputy a lesson for wanting to oust him from his post and sets him on the track of an unsuspecting orchestra violinist.

As the behaviour of any innocent person is bound to appear particularly subtle to secret service agents completely tied up in their work, the spying apparatus produces increasingly senseless results and a large number of comic cinema corpses.

A left-wing film-maker was heard to ask in dead earnest: "What use is a film like this to the working class?" The only possible answer is that the working class laughs along with cinema audiences.

The British film *The Fourteen* takes up a position somewhere between Charles Dickens and an orphaned Trapp Family. A well-meaning welfare department wishes to send fourteen orphans to different homes but family ties prove stronger.

The orphans escape time and again and they all meet on Christmas Eve at the derelict house where they once used to be a family. The younger members of the family are soon offered a home by a farmer and his wife and their elder brothers are astonished to find that children can be as happy in the country as in the slums. David Hemmings directs the film with skill, sentimentality and a dash of working-class naturalism.

Ulli Lommel's *Tenderness of Wolves* met with a mixed reception. Lommel did not plan on producing a historical documentation or a sociological study of

the Haarmann case and his film suffers as a result.

The action is transferred from Hanover to the Ruhr and it is set in the period of occupation after the Second World War instead of during the twenties. As the post-war era was not depicted with complete authenticity, the film is not tied down to any period and becomes a cinema *moritat* combining deliberate horror with involuntary comedy.

The audience were amused more than shocked when Haarmann, played by Kurt Raab, kills a boy in a fit of lust, bites through his jugular vein like a vampire and noisily slurps his blood. Despite skilful passages intentionally reminiscent of Fritz Lang's *M* Lommel's film is at best commercial.

Lillo Petri continues to aim his sights on the respectable middle classes in his latest film *Property is no longer Theft*. A brutal, rapacious butcher is made so insecure by apparently senseless thefts committed by a small bank employee with an allergy to banknotes that he first tries to bribe him and then stangles him.

This material could certainly form the subject of a biting satire but it is so full of side-plots, reflexion and symbolism that the parable about the corrupting power of the possessor does not get off the ground. The film beats around the central theme with a violent-style humour and only occasionally gets to grips with it.

Though the second half did not quite live up to the hopes raised by the first, this year's Berlin Film Festival was on the whole more profitable than might have been expected after the experience of past years.

Since it was set up in 1971 as a contrast to the main competition, the International Forum of New Films has always proved successful. Once again it fulfilled its function of providing information about advances in cinema aesthetics. Had it not been for the forum visitors to the Berlin Film Festival would have left thinking that the only trend was towards stale cinema conventions.

The forum has a rational concept and one that is worth copying. It is not hampered by inflexible regulations when selecting its programme. Films such as Jacques Rivette's *Four* and a half hour puzzle *Out One Specie*, which opens up completely new dimensions of film narrative, and Nagisa Oshima's thirteen-year-old work *Night and Fog over Japan*



Scene from Yves Robert's *Tall Blond with a Black Shoe*

Film Forum  
highlights  
emancipation

The Young Film-makers' Forum, which had arrived at its nadir. So, question why have the Forum was very much to the point.

In 1973 everything is different. Time round the dividing lines are blurred. Films like *George qui?* made by Michel Rostier have been shown internationally. The same is true of Alain Tanner's *Rückkehr aus Afrika* (Journey back to Africa), for Bellocchio's *In the Name of the Father* and for Sandra Hodge's *The Year of the Woman*.

The Forum programme seemed a sensational and the films included a typical of international tendencies including films of engagement. We are able to see Shohel Imamura's latest study *The Post-War History of Japan: the strife-ridden Life of a Bar Maiden* and the controversial film *Night and Fog over Japan* made in 1960 by Nagisa Oshima and *One Side of Madness* made in 1926 by Teinosuke Kinugasa.

There were films to be discussed with Africa, dealing with America's agony, films by young German film-makers and the work of young female German film-makers could be discussed.

The position of women in our society not only a constant theme of contemporary films, a theme much discussed by female film-makers themselves, but it becomes the talking point of our society. At the recent Oberhausen Short Film Festival many of the films shown were made by women and the Berlin Film Festival 1973 took due note of the importance given to women in any number of ways.

Young French producer Michel Rostier presents a highly entertaining study of the life of George Sand in her film *George qui?*. Anne Wisemsky plays the role extremely well.

The film also has many scenes aggressively through the streets with banners but the links established with the present age remain superficial. The women's liberation movement is shown as the 'lack of' of a woman's context spools what is otherwise a depiction of a particular age and place.

The people in Alain Tanner's *Rückkehr aus Afrika* appear as characters from Africa. Tanner was able to sum up the situation extremely well in the film. Vincent, the secretary, Vincent the American citizen and open a number of bars in the United States.

Imamura shows how a woman begins at the bottom, sells meat on the black market, becomes a barmaid, has an affair with an American soldier and finally marries another in order to receive American citizenship and open a number of bars in the United States.

Imamura presents a woman who is at home in a man's world in her honest, rather vulgar manner, a woman who only thinks of her own advantage and denies anything diverging from her aim.

Sandra Hochman's satirical film *The Year of the Woman* is a cheeky, biting story of men's reactions to the women's liberation movement in America. She scorns American television for refusing to report the large-scale women's congresses and for ignoring the election campaign of such an important politician as Shirley Chisholm.

He interviews men to find out their opinions on women's lib and talks to prophets of the movement such as Flo Kennedy, Gloria Steinem, Shirley McLaine, Bella Abzug and many others. She unleashes scathing attacks on Art Buchwald, John Lindsay, Edmund Muskie, Jerry Rubin and Normal Mailer.

Hermann Riede (Frankfurter Neue Presse, 4 July 1973)

Continued on page 11

## THE ARTS

*Much Ado and The Crucible*  
at Bad Hersfeld Festival

Ulrich Erfurth opened the 23rd Bad Hersfeld Festival with a production of Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*, newly translated and in a new production by Manfred Vogel.

In *Much Ado* again and again there are continuous leaps in the psychological development. Shakespeare was not timid in including in his play the fantastic, but the high-spirited, mad jokes there is an earnestness, even tragedy.

These breaks have not been fully explored by Manfred Vogel, although he has produced a piece using contemporary language that is effective.

Every production of *Much Ado* is bedevilled by the fact that the piece is dominated by quick-tempered Beatrice and amusing, tall-story-telling Benedick. This conflict was emphasised by casting Uli Philipp and Folker Bohnet in these parts. In the Bad Hersfeld production this was made more obvious by the unnecessary clown-like acting of Bohnet.

Zsuzsa Duzar and Sigmar Solbach as Hero and Claudio were able to present the originality of their characters in the production although the bitter kernel of the play was lost.

The second premier at the Bad Hersfeld Festival was Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*, which was received with rapturous emotions, not only for the excellent acting that Günther Fleckstein presented but also for the play itself. This showed that among the 1,200-year-old monastery runs where the plays are staged

naturalistic pieces can be put on just as well as any other kind of play if the spirit is willing.

Miller's play tells of a witch hunt in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692. It deals with themes that are well known to our times — mass hysteria and collective guilt. Miller begins his play with sharp contrasts that have an affinity with the black-white conflict we know so well today.

Günther Fleckstein's production is very intense so much so that the observer feels drawn into the action. Fleckstein makes no comment, allowing the story-line and the characters to hold the attention. He does this with great determination.

Cornelia Froboess, who plays Abigail, accentuated more her lust for power than the burning eroticism that underlay her actions. Frank Hoffmann played Proctor with considerable power even though when he prepares for death he was not quite able to be fully convincing.

Eva Kotthaus was just right as Proctor's wife. Karl Walter Diess as the Reverend Hale was able to bring off the transformation in his personality to show that he had been fooled by the witches. Ernst-Fritz Fühlinger as the deputy governor played excellently the part of the narrow-minded, dour official who was full of anxiety at the consequence of the way things were going.

Hermann Dannecker (Kleiner Nachrichten, 4 July 1973)

Continued from page 10

Vincent, sees that they are being filmed by a camera.

Tanner too tells the story of emancipation, though its results are dubious. Francoise and Vincent live together in a city, one day they get fed up of working, sell their possessions and plan to go to Africa to visit a friend who will help them.

But the friend does not help them. For days on end they live in an empty apartment, ready to leave at a moment's notice. After a number of weeks they have to move out, rent a smaller flat, start working again and discuss having children.

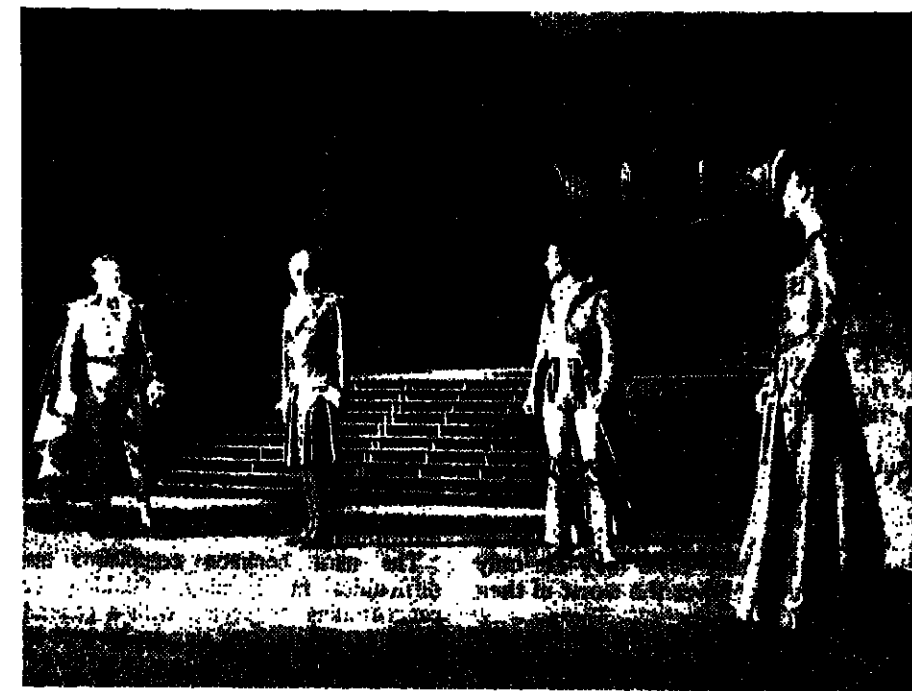
Now the problems start. Francoise does not see why she should give up work to look after children at home. At the end of the film they play dice to see who should assume this responsibility. Although the viewer never learns the result, it is obvious that Vincent would not be too happy about assuming the role of mother and housewife.

Tanner's film is humorous, realistic and amusing. Though the plot is contrived, the periphery is full of realistic everyday detail. Real people meet the artificial figures of the central plot. No word is spoken about emancipation but it forms the film's central theme — the film ends on the note of emancipation without ever providing the answers.

Another film with a similar subject was Shohel Imamura's *The Post-War History of Japan: the strife-ridden Life of a Bar Maiden*. Imamura asks a woman to tell her private and business life past and present and blends in documentary scenes.

Imamura shows how a woman begins at the bottom, sells meat on the black market, becomes a barmaid, has an affair with an American soldier and finally marries another in order to receive American citizenship and open a number of bars in the United States.

Imamura presents a woman who is at



A scene for the Bad Hersfeld production of *Much Ado About Nothing*

(Photos: Carl Elberth)

## Ballet in Cologne

*Giselle*, *Swan Lake* and *The Firebird* are the main ballets to be considered in the 17th Summer School for Dance, Cologne. 600 young dancers from all over Europe can look forward to a lot of hard work practising for these productions at the Summer School that is Europe's largest and most important for ballet students. Twenty-two ballet masters from all over the world are providing six courses for the dancers, instructing them in the art of bodily movement to the accompaniment of rehearsal pianos.

The Summer School for Dance was first organised in 1954 and brings to the Federal Republic a faint breath of international ballet.

Six hundred dancers will take part, members of various corps de ballet in this country. Fifty per cent of the professional dancers in companies in this country come from abroad.

Fred Marteny, director of the Summer School for Dancers maintained that a ballet student in this country had to work for ten years before getting a job paid 1,300 Marks. The chances of getting a solo dancer's appointment or ballerina's appointment were very remote.

Despite various outstanding performances by ballet companies from this country in modern productions, companies still needed to fall back on the good old stand-bys such as *Swan Lake* to fill a theatre according to Herr Marteny.

Only the big five in Ballet in this country, Stuttgart, Berlin, Hamburg, Munich and Cologne, can afford to produce contemporary ballet alongside

classical ballet and not have the local cultural affairs authorities up in arms because the theatre seats are not being taken up and the house is only half full.

Herr Marteny has a long-term programme to educate balletomanes in this country to accept more readily modern ballet and modern choreography. He quotes the example of the success in Brussels of Maurice Béjart's *Ballet de cirque* which has played in a circus tent to 4,000 people daily. What is important is to get more and more young people accustomed to the ideas of modern ballet. This can be done, for example, by producing explanatory lectures of modern ballet at schools and universities.

At this year's Summer Dance School young choreographers and dance troupes from 19 different countries will demonstrate how colourful, diverse and contemporary modern ballet can be. They will be able to efface the false ideas that the public has held for a considerable time and reconcile the public with the aims and character of modern ballet.

Herrn aus der Mark (Kleiner Nachrichten, 5 July 1973)

Young Authors  
Prizes

The awards of the Young Authors Prizes for 1973, made in Würzburg, was a double success for the publishing house of Julius Beltz, Weinheim. Four of the awards given, carrying a cash prize of 7,500 Marks, were given to Best authors.

For 1973 a total of 475 publications including children's books and books for young people, two story books, a picture book and a book of facts were considered.

The Prize went to Frederick Hetmann for his *Ich habe sieben Leben - Die Geschichte des Ernesto Guevara, genannt Che* with pictures by Günther Stiller, published by Julius Beltz.

Christine Nödlinger was honoured for her children's novel entitled *Wir pfeifen auf den Gurkenkönig* with pictures by Werner Maurer, published also by Julius Beltz.

Leszko Rober was honoured for the illustrations and Eva Janikowsky for the text of *Große dürfen alles*, published by Neithard Andrich-Verlag, Mühlheim in the Ruhr.

Barbara Werba was honoured for her book *Ein nützliches Mitglied der Gesellschaft* translated by Hana-Görg Neock from the American original published by Signal-Verlag, Baden-Baden.

(Händoverache A1000, 3 July 1973)

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## ■ EDUCATION

## More and more students seek expert advice

Under Baden-Württemberg university legislation Heidelberg University is responsible inter alia for the social welfare of its students. The Central Student Advice Bureau does a good deal of work in this sector.

But the three full-time advisers at the bureau are hopelessly overworked as they have to cater for the fifteen thousand university student in the town and the 3,200 members of the local college of education. In many cases they can only just help students over the worst of their troubles.

More and more students and school children are consulting the advice centre. The total rose from 6,319 to 8,019 in the three years from 1969 to 1972. "The increasing use made of the study advice service is due to the growing uncertainty of future students about university opportunities and the rise in pressure caused by stricter conditions of study in many sectors," a recently published report concludes.

More than one third of those people seeking advice are freshmen, for the most part those studying the sciences, mathematics or psychology or attending the interpreters' institute.

Among students who have been at university for at least eighteen months the most difficulties are reported by those in the faculties of art (grossly over-represented with 45 per cent of those seeking help), medicine and law.

The number of students seeking advice only drops off after the third year. One remarkable feature is that women students are clearly over-represented. Forty per cent of those students seeking advice are girls even though they make up only 29 per cent of the total student population in the Federal Republic as a whole and 32 per cent in Heidelberg.

Personal difficulties stand in close relationship with study difficulties and are often dependent upon them. At least half the students who consult the advice centre in Heidelberg have serious emotional problems resulting from difficulties they encounter in their course of study.

Dieter Kallinke, the doctor and psychologist who runs the Heidelberg advice centre, and his two assistants, psychologists Jürgen Dieker and Horst Ehler, estimate that at least twenty per cent require psychotherapy. This high proportion corresponds to the number of mentally disturbed persons in the population as a whole.

More and more students are consulting the advice centre which offers its services free and without the usual bureaucratic limitations. Last year the 265 consultations and courses of psychotherapy took up a total of 1,271 hours.

This year a waiting list was set up for the first time. So far it includes one hundred students. Another student advice centre has 250 students on its waiting list.

About half the patients come because of sexual disorders or difficulty in their studies or in making contact with their fellow students. Almost sixty per cent of them need no more than a short course of treatment, never lasting longer than five hours. But 28.5 per cent of them need treatment lasting between six and thirty hours and 4.4 per cent even exceed this total.

Girl students make up 34.6 per cent of the total of all persons seeking psychotherapeutic help from the advice centre. This figure is roughly comparable with their share of the total student population and lower than that for the study advice service.

But, as with the study advice service, most of those students seeking help (43.2 per cent) come from the faculty of arts. Medics are in second place with 22 per cent and lawyers only make up five per cent of the total.

The experiences of the Heidelberg advice centre have shown that many students who find it hard to choose a subject suffer simultaneously from other difficulties.

The most common complaints are difficulties in learning, thinking or concentrating connected with a general lassitude and lack of energy as well as strong feelings of inadequacy.

Symptoms of neuroses and psychoses also occur alongside considerable problems in making contacts with fellow students, syndromes of depression, sexual difficulties and nervous disorders. Time and again these students seeking advice are obviously at a loss what to do when faced with these complex problems or even everyday demands, the report states.

The staff at the advice centre would also like to correct the widespread belief that students have a great deal of freedom in their lives. This attitude contributes much to the general lack of comprehension about the social position of students.

"The much-quoted sexual permissiveness of students is probably first and foremost a projection by those sections of the population that do not feel sexually free," they claim. "The need for information on these questions is as great as the frequency of sexual problems."

Education and Science Minister Klaus Egon Dohmanyi has published a draft of proposed legislation for universities which proposes a reduction in the period of university study from four to three years, a reform of the examination system and the courses of study offered, new entry procedure and a scheme of joint decision-making guaranteeing university teachers a majority on questions of teaching, research and staff appointments.

The Cabinet is to discuss the draft at the end of August and the final Act should pass the Bundestag by the 1974 summer recess at the very latest. The CDU/CSU Opposition has expressed its support for this timetable.

The new draft is based on the Joint Education Commission's forecast that some 22 to 24 per cent of a school year would begin a course at an institute of advanced education by 1980 or 1985.

The draft proposes a reduction in the period of study to the internationally normal length. Comprehensive universities should as a result offer three-year courses of study in suitable subjects. After this period students will be able to obtain a degree.

The length of study should not exceed four years, except in disciplines such as medicine. Shorter courses of study than the norm are not excluded either. The full amount of time spent on practical courses will be incorporated in the total study period. Post-graduate courses are planned to follow the basic three-year course in order to train the next generation of academic staff.

The right to a place of study must be given priority over the right to study as long as one pleases. Accordingly, the draft proposes that students who exceed the normal study period by more than a certain amount will be exmatriculated

More and more students are seeking advice on questions of family planning and sexual relationships.

The problems indicated by these statistics are only the tip of the iceberg, Jürgen Dieker claims. This shows that, under its cloak of academic activity, the university represents a socially inhospitable environment to its members and they automatically suffer as a result.

However the trend manifesting itself at university level has its basis in the schools and reveals the difficulties faced by freshmen. At school, Dieter Kallinke remarked, pupils are trained to display individual performances and indulge in competition. They do not learn cooperation or team work.

Having had this inability drummed into them and having been detached from the parental home which acts as a cushion, they enter university and must for the first time seek contact with other persons to whom they can relate.

Apart from this isolation, students are confronted with boundless demands on their performance which often provide academically qualified though educationally incapable university teachers with evidence to justify their derogatory opinions about students.

This applies to an even greater extent to the ever-increasing number of students who have been forced into other departments as the course they wanted to take is subject to severe entry restrictions.

The students' increasing political interest and the formation of political

groups are a response to the environment of the university. As Dieter Kallinke says, when the masses feel unwell that is also the fault of institutions, though it would be inadmissible from this statement to conclude that politically active students are ill and should not belong to university.

The universities and the public that are their mainstay react to the provocation with fresh resistance to have the advantage of the support of educational bureaucracy which reduces all conflicts to abbreviated thought. But this is the most obvious disavowal of the universities' obligation to look after their students' welfare.

The student advice centre's main aim is to stabilise the student confronted by university. The advisers admit that they are pursuing a policy of conformity: they try to equate this with the situation at the universities.

"Effective individual aid is impossible," they explain, "but if you don't do anything further you are reducing the difficulties of your clients to problems of maintenance..."

"If you approach the problem in this way you ignore the individual contribution to the suffering of a person's environment more appropriately, that is less pathologically, by structural reforms."

The high suicide rate among students: 25 per 100,000 compared with a considerably lower 14 per 100,000 in the same age range in the population at large — provides grounds for alarm. The rate among foreign students is eight per cent higher. A further symptom: that anything up to a quarter of students end their course of study by committing suicide.

Ekkehard Eick (Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 July 1973)

## ■ PROFILE

## The centenary of the birth of Leo Frobenius

The colonial powers had turned their attention to Africa, the German Empire was only two years old and nobody in Berlin thought of acquiring overseas possessions when Leo Frobenius was born on 29 June 1873 — one hundred years ago.

The Frobenius family — or the Frobens as they were once called — belonged to the upper middle classes established in Berlin. Leo Frobenius' father was a lieutenant-colonel.

But the young Leo never found much attraction in a bourgeois existence and thoughts of a military career did not excite him either. His mother had studied music and planned to become a famous singer before giving up studies when she married. Perhaps this was the source of the restlessness and wanderlust felt by her son.

At first Leo Frobenius wanted to be a businessman and joined a Bremen firm of importers. The city's shipowners and traders regularly brought native art and artefacts back with them from their voyages, and the ethnological museum established in Bremen exerted a greater pull on Frobenius than his office desk.

While in Bremen, Frobenius became acquainted with ethnologist Heinrich Schurtz and his tales of a new world full of strange races and tribes whom the trading giants held for savages.

Leo Frobenius decided to study ethnology. After spells in Dresden and Biele he studied the subject in Leipzig

under the famous ethnologist Friedrich Ratzel who taught the science according to purely geographical concepts.

Even before beginning his studies in 1894 the twenty-year-old Frobenius wrote a scientific dissertation on the development of the South Congo Basin as a State and the position of the tribes.

After ending his studies in 1898 he published in quick succession a number of authoritative works on masks and secret societies in Africa, the origins of African civilisation, the ideology of the primitive peoples and the development of Polynesian civilisation in Oceania.

By this time the German Empire had entered the ranks of the colonial powers and had obtained territory in West and East Africa and in the South Pacific. The British and French destroyed the empires and States existing on the African continent. Had Africa ever had a history, people asked.

Leo Frobenius was no supporter of colonialism. He only went to Africa to investigate the way of life, the thought, art and culture of the colonised peoples.

In these years of theory, in which the often controversial Frobenius founded the new discipline of cultural morphology, he became a target of criticism for many scholars as he combined ethnology with geography, archaeology, art and history.

He always had a tendency to abandon empirical research and embark upon philosophical flights fancy and bold



Leo Frobenius (Photo: Ulstein)

historical reconstructions. But it was this that contributed to the fascination exerted by a free thinker who took all substance from the idea that culture and civilisation could only be described as existing among peoples acquainted with the written word.

He did not start practical field work until 1904 when he headed the German Central Africa research expedition to the

Congo and Kasai Basins. By the time he made his last trip to Libya in 1935 he had been on twelve large-scale expeditions.

He travelled across half of Africa, discovered the rock paintings of the old African hunters, copying five thousand of them with his own hand, provided the first accurate description of the gigantic buildings of Zimbabwe in Southern Africa, collected the myths, legends and fairy-tales of the Black African world and investigated the architecture and religious rites of this region.

He actually rediscovered for the Africans the Africa with its immensely ancient and complex history and modern Black Africa appreciates this.

But the philosopher in Frobenius wanted to help the unknown facts he had unearthed attain new international significance. He claimed that African art was dependent on Greek art.

He developed the doctrine of cultural circles based on the links between certain stylistic forms. He thought up the Paldeuma theory, understanding culture as an entity of which Mankind was only a part.

His last great work, his history of African civilisation which appeared in 1933, reveals Frobenius as an imaginative thinker but it also shows the true strength and importance of this famous German ethnologist. In the book Frobenius paid a special tribute to Kaiser William II who had helped him finance his expeditions after 1912.

Frobenius did not obtain academic recognition until the last fifteen years of his life when he set up a department for cultural morphology and was appointed professor at Frankfurt University. By the time he died at his home on Lago Maggiore on 9 August 1938 at the age of 65 this traveller between two worlds had established a conception for an international history of myth. (Die Welt, 30 June 1973)

## New university legislation to improve efficiency

though they will still retain the right to sit their final examinations.

Experience and ability gained to the course of study will enable the student to miss the initial semester once he has taken an examination to test his standard.

People already at work will be able to take a shorter course of study concentrating on preparations for the final examination. External examinations are also planned.

The normal periods of study, to which the courses of study will have to be adapted, should take effect two years after the new law comes into force. If Dohmanyi's timetable is adhered to the first students to be affected by the new system will be the freshmen who enter university at the start of the 1976 winter term.

The draft stresses the need for a reform of studies to bring them into line with the student's later career. When reforming their courses of study, universities are to be backed by supra-regional study reform commissions. The recommendations of these commissions will however amount to no more than declarations of principle and will also take into account the universities' own proposals.

As the plans of both the central government and the Federal states indicate that there will still be more would be students than places of study in future, the Bill proposes a central admissions department to allocate university places.

Two basic types of admission procedure will be adopted. Under normal

procedure a quarter of the study places available will be awarded to foreign students changing their course of study. A quarter to the best school-leavers where the Federal states will be required to standardise their school-leaving examinations, a further quarter would be students who have waited a certain amount of time for admission. The final quarter will be awarded according to a combination of performance and period of waiting.

Procedure taking account of performance, interviews and other factors of suitability will operate in subjects where the demand is particularly high compared with the number of places available. Medicine, pharmacy, dentistry come into this category. The quarters of the study places available will be awarded on the basis of this special procedure.

The draft has been forced into this account of the Constitutional Court ruling on the Lower Saxony university law and grants university teachers a majority in decisionmaking committees responsible for questions of teaching, research and staff appointments.

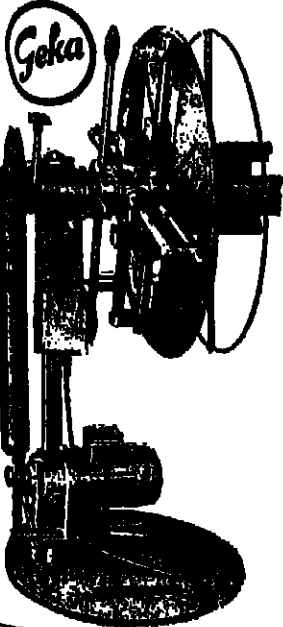
Both professors and assistant professors appointed as temporary civil servants for a period of six years come into the category of university teacher. Though they form different groups at universities they are given equal treatment when it comes to the question of decision-making.

Combining these two university groups under the category "university teacher" is bound to cause some controversy during discussions at the Bundestag committee stage. Critics believe that the arrangement undermines the verdict of the Constitutional Court. (Handelsblatt, 4 July 1973)

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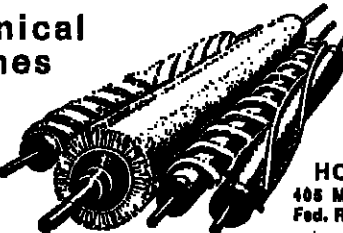
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